

JPRS-SSA-86-013

31 January 1986

Sub-Saharan Africa Report



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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31 January 1986

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ANGOLA

PESSIMISTIC ASSESSMENT OF 1981-1985 ECONOMIC ACHIEVEMENTS

Lisbon AFRICA JORNAL in Portuguese 4 Dec 85 p 11

[Text] "Renewal and Continuity" is the slogan for the MPLA-Labor Party's Second Congress currently being held in the Angolan capital; a slogan which, presuming the continuation of the socialist path to development, recommends a more intensive study of "Marxism-Leninism" by the entire Angolan society. It is, moreover, a guide present today throughout the socialist world, used by those ranging from Gorbachev to the most recent congress of the Algerian FLN Party.

But the continuity must first surmount certain economic difficulties. Angola is undergoing a phase at present which President Jose Eduardo dos Santos has described as "one of transition, beginning with the inherited colonial society which had to be transformed into the socialist society." Also in the words of the Angolan president, that transformation "necessarily had an effect on the economic and financial interests of the Portuguese colonialists, who constituted a substantial portion of the foreign bourgeoisie." Jose Eduardo adds that this task was facilitated by the flight of the vast majority of owners of industrial firms, agrarian complexes, farms, transportation companies and banking businesses, who had been attempting to stifle the Peoples Republic of Angola. He concluded by saying that all those assets were nationalized or confiscated, becoming the property of the "nascent socialist society."

The Assessment

This optimism was present in most of the economic plans, the non-fulfillment of which recently began to be the target of critical and even self-critical analyses. In this respect, the "Draft Thesis on Material Production Development" submitted to the Second Congress is quite clear: "The war per se must not be considered the only deciding factor in the current stagnant situation of the national economy, or even a palliative for the shortcomings," maintains the draft; which adds that there are other factors, such as the virtually widespread non-fulfillment, the unsuitability of the outlooks and instructions, the over-optimism and euphoria and the major lack of experience. Specifying, the draft draws a rather gloomy picture of the country's economy during the 5-year interval 1981-85. If one makes an exception of the petroleum sector, in which the efforts have brought "encouraging results," leading

to an increase in reserves and a rise in production amounting to 50 percent, but wherein there are still 'inadequacies' in the area of distribution and marketing of the refined products on the domestic market," all the other sectors show a negative result. This applies to the mining industry. The preparation of the geological mapping is virtually at a standstill, and the status of DIAMANG [Angola Diamond Company] has worsened, owing to the decline in production, which dropped from 1.4 million carats in 1981 to 900,000 in 1984. In the electric power sector, the difficulties are particularly serious; and the same thing holds true in construction, which is also virtually halted. Fishing, which the draft considers the only productive sector not directly affected by the war, does not show a better situation. The problems lie not only with the catch, resulting from the presence of antiquated, obsolete boats, but also with the distribution, because of the lack of transportation and cold storage warehouses.

The complete dependence on imported raw materials, the high costs stemming from poor management of stocks, the under-utilization of installed capacities, the constant shortages of water and power, the high degree of absenteeism and the price policy completely dissociated from reality are factors which have brought about the "strangulation" of the manufacturing industry during the 5-year period.

Agriculture, livestock raising and forestry, considered to be the country's basic activities, are also undergoing a serious crisis. For example, coffee production dropped from 24,000 tons in 1981 to 11,000 in 1984. In this entire vast sector there is complete disorganization, insufficient aid for the peasants, retrogression and disorientation in the cooperative movement, flawed operation of marketing in the rural areas and constant "diversion" of goods intended for rural supply to the urban areas.

The situation in transportation is no better. The draft mentions "low rates of fulfillment" and "considerable deterioration in quality" of the land and sea transportation, with the resultant "unbalanced increase" in the use of air transport. As for the posts and telecommunications, there was a "general decline in the quality of service," and in the area of hydrometeorology and geophysics, one witnessed an "almost total stagnation."

Insofar as social development was concerned, it was also the topic of a draft thesis to be submitted to the congress. The major difficulties during the 5-year period are dissected therein. For example, the draft states that the commercial and distribution system shows a declining trend, reaching its lowest point since independence in 1983. In the health field, it notes a "deficient level" of management in the institutions, a lack of qualified cadres, a shortage of food supplies for patients, and a rate of morbidity and mortality among children under 5 years of age and pregnant women that is considered to be "very high."

The volume of housing construction is also minimal and unsatisfactory, and the draft goes so far as to state that "nothing has been accomplished in this

area." The educational and instructional system, in turn, shows a "low rate of profitability," with the school system, starting on the second level, living on "international cooperation." The lack of cadres capable of directing the cultural process is one of the reasons for the non-fulfillment of this sector's goals.

Among the general causes of this state of affairs, the drafts mention the "lack of control and coordination, exacerbated by lack of discipline and a negligent attitude toward tasks," all of which is associated with "matters of an ideological nature." Ideology is also considered one of the preponderant factors in the deterioration of the country's social and economic existence. The draft specifies: "There is a non-existence of party structures, pure and simple," in the rural areas and other localities, "uncoordinated, inconsistent action on the part of the mass organizations" headed by the party, "ideological corruption of the cadres and other workers," and the "survival, or even development of concepts and practices inherited from the old society."

But the draft theses do not confine themselves to enumerating the difficulties and submitting some of their causes. A group of ideas is submitted for the next 5-year plan for 1986-90. Prominent among them is the need to "devise a 5-year program to train cadres in the mastery of the Marxist theory of organization for the socialist society and state"; the "assured provision of politico-ideological education based on Marxism-Leninism, in the group of subjects taught in basic education, as well as Marxist-Leninist instruction in the intermediate and higher-level schools"; and the establishment of the requirement to link the issuance of ration cards exclusively to the enterprise level, so as to supply only those who work. In addition, several austerity measures are also advocated. For example, the investment policy should be subject to the requirements of national defense, supplies for the population, and exchange limitations.

In short, an arduous task awaits the MPLA-PT during the coming 5-year period. Will the "renewal and continuity" of socialism succeed in surmounting the difficulties imposed not only by the eroding war which is as old as the country, but also by the ideology established among the society as a whole, the responsibility for which the MPLA itself cannot shirk?

2909

CSO: 3442/97

ANGOLA

RALLY IN HUAMBO CONDEMNS UNITA ATTACKS

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 14 Nov 85 p 12

[Text] Huambo--A demonstration to repudiate the attacks perpetrated by the UNITA bandits in the pay of Pretoria was held yesterday afternoon in the 8 February district, in front of the premises of the Railroad Club, headed by Marculino Moco, deputy coordinator of the party's Provincial Committee in this province.

In fact, Marculino Moco, speaking before hundreds of people, declared that this demonstration was taking place at a time when we have just commemorated the first decade since the proclamation of our independence, in 1985; and that, up until the present, our fatherland's soil has continued to be violated by the South African racists and their lackeys, particularly UNITA, which, ever since then, has wanted part of our territory that never belonged to it.

Also in his remarks, that party leader cited the principal dates that have been marked in our country, underscoring the leading role of the People's Assembly, the supreme organ of the nation, elected by the people.

That leader commented, furthermore, that "In view of what the UNITA bandits have done in an attempt to destabilize our territorial integrity, it is incumbent on all of us, as children of this progressive country, to intensify our organization, vigilance and combative power, until socialism is really materialized in this country of ours. We are convinced that our glorious FAPLA, with all its strength and severity, will never allow the puppet groups to have land in our country, while we shout aloud 'the struggle continues!'"

Meanwhile, at the conclusion of his address, the deputy coordinator of the party's Provincial Committee noted that the strong backing that the South African racists have provided to the UNITA bandits has been futile; because the latter, upon continuing their action, have met with the prompt response from our defense and security forces which, alongside our people, have driven back every imperialist attempt. "Thus, it is particularly important for us to highlight here the victories of our combatants during these 2 weeks, as we fittingly celebrate our independence, giving them the praise they deserve for their perseverance in this difficult task."

It should be noted that, during the ceremony, the report of the FAPLA stationed in the fourth politicomilitary region, specifically, in Huambo Province, was read; from 8 to 12 November, they responded effectively to several attempts at banditry on the part of the UNITA puppets.

As recorded in the report, for example, at zero hours on 9 November, a group of armed bandits attacked the 8 February district, where they destroyed five residences and the Railroad Club premises, killing one person.

Meanwhile, the Albano Machado School was the victim of an enemy attack about 0155 hours on the same day, launching RPG7 howitzers during this assault. Both attempts failed as a result of the prompt response from our glorious FAPLA. Also, on the same day, at exactly 1830 hours, at a distance of 20 meters from the Ministry of Agriculture building, a bomb set inside a vehicle exploded, partially destroying the facilities and certain adjoining residences.

Such actions continued in some municipalities of this province. In fact, in the municipality of Longonjo, in the settlement of Lembi, the puppet groups destroyed 85 dwellings, a ton of fertilizer and a ton of corn, with a toll of 24 dead. In response, the defense and security forces stationed there killed several members of UNITA, capturing others, and recovering various ordnance.

During the aforementioned period, at the Maiaia farm, in the commune of Chipipa, municipality of Huambo, the FAPLA annihilated 13 bandits and recovered various equipment as the latter were attempting to destroy the aforementioned farm.

State security also demonstrated its determination when the LCB combatants in the 8 February district annihilated 17 bandits who had been attempting to destroy that locality. In the municipality of Bailundo, 15 fatalities was the toll during an intensive FAPLA response against a group of bandits attempting to penetrate this municipality.

Meanwhile, inside the city of Huambo, thanks to the bravery of our defense and security forces, who patrol the city's arteries day and night on searches of various residences, they discovered several recalcitrant youths, who were collaborating with the small puppet group, and various equipment, used to supply the enemies, including explosives that have ordinarily been used in this city.

Contrary to this, owing to the courage of the glorious FAPLA, it should be noted that, in the attack on the 8 February district, in which the premises of the Railroad Club were destroyed, the enemy unhesitatingly dispersed, leaving on the site two AKM weapons, six RPG7 howitzers, four AKM cartridge clips, two grenades and three RPG7 charges.

Also during the ceremony, four bandits captured by our defense and security forces during an attempted escape, as a result of the FAPLA's courage, were introduced. They are: Francisco Pedro Paulo, aged 35; Afonso Antonio, 24; Mateus Antonio, 19; and Francisco Chipelo, 28 years old.

Mention should be made of the fact that, in attendance at the ceremony, besides the members of the executive commission of the party's Provincial Committee, there were members of the party's Provincial Committee, of the OMA [Organization of Angolan Women], of the police, of the OPA [Organization of Angolan Pioneers] and of the JMPLA [Youth of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]-JP [Party Youth]; as well as members of the BPV [People's Vigilance Brigades] who are marking their second anniversary, members of the defense and security forces, several delegates from the various ministries of this province and the people as a whole.

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CSO: 3442/98

ANGOLA

COMMANDER OF 10TH MILITARY REGION CALLS FOR MORE DISCIPLINE

Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 25 Oct 85 p 12

[Text] Chitato--The deputy commander of the 10th politicomilitary region, Eusebio de Brito Trixeira, recently held an informal meeting with the provincial directorate of the People's Vigilance Brigades (BPV) of Lunda-Norte.

At the meeting, they debated, among other things, the coordination in the area of the people's vigilance between the sub-command of the 10th military region and the BPV directorate, as well as the reinforcement of political and patriotic education among the combatants.

The provincial coordinator of the People's Vigilance Brigades, Luciano Rodrigues, who was accompanied by several officials from his delegation, informed the deputy commander of his concern regarding the bad conduct of certain combatants, who are denigrating the brigade members' role in the People's Republic of Angola.

The deputy commander of that politicomilitary region stated in conclusion: "Practical measures will be adopted for the purpose of eliminating these irregularities"; taking the opportunity to urge all the combatants on the various levels to comply with the discipline and military regulations.

The deputy commander of the 10th military region also remarked: "A combatant in the glorious FAPLA must achieve solidarity with each brigade member in his area of activity; because this will lead to the detection, reporting and abolishment of actions detrimental to the people and the revolution."

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CSO: 3442/98

ANGOLA

BRIEFS

COOPERATION PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH GDR--On Tuesday, in Luanda, a protocol on commercial exchanges and the rendering of services was signed between Angola and the German Democratic Republic. The agreement, initialed by the Angolan minister of foreign trade, Ismael Martins, and the vice minister of agricultural machinery and vehicle construction, Darda Erhard Schulz, makes official the conditions enabling the enterprises of the two countries to sign contracts in their respective areas. After the signing of the agreement, both government officials expressed the desire for an increase in the commercial exchange between the two nations in future years. It is noteworthy that the protocol was signed at the facilities of the Luanda International Fair where, after having visited the various exhibits, Erhard Schulz signed the competitive event's book of honor. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 14 Nov 85 p 12] 2909

200 CHILDREN JOIN OPA--Ndalatando--On Monday, 200 children from the municipality of Cazengo born after national independence joined the Agostinho Neto Pioneers Organization [OPA] during a political ceremony on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of independence and in tribute to the party's second congress, to be held this December. With this additional contingent, the OPA in the municipality of Cazengo currently has in its ranks a total of 1,329 Pioneers, who are now engaged in the establishment of the rank and file agencies in the schools, known as "Pioneer Brigades." The Agostinho Neto Pioneers Organization in Kuanza-Norte is carrying out an intensive effort for consciousness-raising, with a view toward the recruitment, in April 1986, of members of this Pioneer organization into the ranks of the JMPLA [Youth of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]-Party Youth. The party's coordinator of the DORGAN [Central Committee Department of Organization] in Kuanza-Norte, Alfredo Francisco, who presided over the ceremony, stressed the importance of the multifarious training of children, based on the principles of the Angolan revolution. He gave a reminder of the strong bonds that already exist between the OPA and the Ministry of Education. [Text] [Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA in Portuguese 13 Nov 85 p 3] 2909

CSO: 3442/98

IVORY COAST

JOINT ECONOMIC VENTURES PLANNED WITH BRAZIL

Lisbon AFRICA JORNAL in Portuguese 4 Dec 85 p 16

[Text] The creation of joint ventures, greater commercial exchange, and projects aimed at gaining third markets in the West African subregion are proposals that businessmen from the Ivory Coast and Brazil may implement on the basis of contacts recently held in Sao Paulo by the business mission from the Republic of the Ivory Coast (60 businessmen from 39 sectors) with Brazilian industrialists.

The mission, headed by the vice minister of commerce, Toure Abdoulaye, was received at the FIESP [Sao Paulo State Federation of Industries] by the entity's first vice chairman, Mario Amato, and board members; an occasion on which the Ivory Coast delegates and the Brazilians confirmed their political desire to change the relatively meager context of their commercial relations, based on the potential of both nations and the feature of industrial complementation contained in the proposals outlined by the Ivory Coast businessmen.

This desire was greatly underscored in the welcoming speech delivered by the first vice chairman of the FIESP-CIESP [Sao Paulo State Industries Center]. Speaking on behalf of the entities' chairman, Luis Eulalio de Bueno Vidigal Filho, Mario Amato emphasized that, along with the cultural and ethnic ties that have marked the African continent's historical relations with Brazil, the reasons which brought the mission to Brazil had caused its visit to assume even greater significance. Amato observed: "Our economy has reached a stage which, without any exaggeration, makes it possible to give a fitting, assured response to the demand of countries seeking to execute programs that are linked, either directly or indirectly, with the development of their infrastructure, and even with more technologically advanced projects." He acknowledged the fact that there are identical economic factors which could bring supply and demand closer together.

After stressing the work that his colleague on the board of directors, Roberto Della Manna, has already attempted to accomplish, as head of the Sao Paulo State Center to Support Small and Medium-Sized Business (CEAG), in pursuit of that goal (CEAG is the manager of the Afro-Brazilian Technical Cooperation Program, established by the CEBRAE [Brazilian Center to Support Small and Medium-Sized Business], in the context of the National Program to Support

Small and Medium-Sized Exporting Business), Amato gave assurance of FIESP-CIESP's willingness to act as spokesman between the two sides.

Next, the director of CEAG, Antonio Carlos Mourao Bonetti, representing the agency's chairman, drew a parallel between the business firms of the two countries, stressing that the genuinely national small and medium-sized businesses, specifically, are playing an increasingly important role in the development of their countries; something that has been noted with great emphasis in that African nation.

He also gave a reminder that the meeting was the first to be held in the context of the relations between the Ivory Coast and Brazil since the concluding of the cooperation agreement signed at the end of 1984.

Thereafter, the Ivory Coast businessmen had an opportunity to learn, through an audiovisual presentation, about the structure and operation of the FIESP, CIESP, SESI [Industrial Social Service], and SENAI [National Service for Industrial Apprenticeship].

The mission's arrival in Brazil was also coordinated by the Afro-Brazilian Chamber of Commerce, and its head, Deputy Adalberto Camargo, was present at the meeting. He claimed that the event could be described as one of "far-reaching importance" in the relations between the two countries; because its outcome would make the future of those relations viable.

He thanked FIESP for the backing given for the promotion, and publicly announced the holding of the Brazilian-African Symposium on Trade and Tourism, in Abidjan, during the second half of this year.

The vice minister of commerce, Toure Abdoulaye, clearly reflecting the political desire for an interrelationship with long-term prospects, went so far as to call upon the two countries to strive jointly to bolster common basic products on the international market, specifically, cacao and coffee.

It is noteworthy that the Ivory Coast is the top cacao producer in the world, and the third-ranking coffee producer. It is the leading African exporter of yams, pineapple, bananas, and palm oil.

In his remarks, the Ivory Coast vice minister profiled his country, which has been independent since 1960, "with a liberal, free, open economy that places emphasis on private enterprise," in favor of joint ventures including native and foreign capital.

Fifty-one percent of the Ivory Coast's exports are sent to the markets of France, the U.S., the Netherlands, and Italy.

The trade with Brazil could be exploited to a far greater extent. The Brazilian exports consist basically of petroleum by-products, farm machinery, paper, and transportation equipment, as well as seed, fruit, and soybean flour. The Brazilian imports are: seed, coconut fruit, and fruit trees.

During the second part of the meeting, the members of the Ivory Coast mission, as well as their Brazilian colleagues, introduced themselves, explaining their fields of activity and interest, for trade purposes. The representative from CACEX [Foreign Trade Department], Jose Carlos de Brito, described the operation of that section of the Bank of Brazil, explaining that the agency in Abidjan has a loan of \$5 million to be used to finance products purchased from Brazil.

The Ivory Coast businessmen are interested in finding partners in Brazil, particularly in the areas of civil construction for low-cost housing, machinery and tools, the textile industry, tires, paper, farming tools, etc.

Lending prestige to the meeting at the FIESP were the Messrs Charles Providence Gomis, the Ivory Coast's ambassador to Brazil; Fadiga Lamine, head of the Abidjan Chamber of Commerce; and businessmen from scores of industrial and agro-industrial sectors.

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CSO: 3442/97

IVORY COAST

OPPOSITION LEADER LAURENT GBAGBO DISCUSSES POLITICAL SCENE

Dakar AFRIQUE NOUVELLE in French 13-19 Nov 85 pp 6-7

[Interview with Laurent Gbagbo, Ivorian opposition leader, by Anne-Marie Boni; date and place not specified]

[Text] Following the presidential elections, the legislative elections have just been held. "Ivorian style democracy" continues to totter along. This is what Laurent Gbagbo, the leader of the Ivorian opposition, thinks about the situation. He lives in exile in France.

Laurent Gbagbo is the only well-known figure of the Ivorian opposition. However, he defends himself vigorously from the charge that he is a general without any troops to follow him. This university graduate, who used to teach history in Abidjan, has lived in exile in France since the strike by schoolteachers in 1982. Since then he has written a book setting out his program, which has been published by Editions L'Harmattan: "Cote d'Ivoire: pour une alternative democratique" [The Ivory Coast: for a Democratic Alternative].

Gbagbo presents himself as the spokesman of a clandestine movement, the Ivorian People's Front (FPI), which brings together organizations fighting for the establishment of a "multiparty democracy," because in his view there cannot be true democracy in the context of a single political party. He says, "There are at least seven clandestine political parties in the Ivory Coast." In fact, a multiparty system already exists. It is the government which does not wish to recognize this fact. In the interview which he gave us Laurent Gbagbo discusses the present political situation in the Ivory Coast (and the elections in particular). As might have been expected, he rigorously criticizes the present government and presents the views of his group.

[Question] How do you regard the recent developments in the Ivorian political situation? Were you surprised by the decision of President Houphouet not to appoint a vice president, as provided by the constitution which was amended in 1980?

[Answer] I was not at all surprised. Neither was anyone else surprised in the Ivory Coast. Those who were surprised are not acquainted with the situation in the country. As seen from abroad, the succession problem is analyzed as if it were a juridical problem, whereas in reality it is a philosophical problem.

First of all, for Houphouet power is something which you do not share. Then, and still according to Houphouet, you should not talk about the replacement for a leader while he is still alive. Finally, appointing a successor would involve encouraging this replacement to entertain criminal thoughts against the man he is supposed to replace in case of need. That is why the members of the Ivorian National Assembly have no replacements already appointed. It is feared that the potential replacement would be tempted, for example, to poison the person holding the office! Therefore, it is a whole philosophy of power which must be kept in mind. It is in accordance with this kind of logic that Article 11 of the Constitution has just been changed once again to make it conform to the new situation.

[Question] In terms of development, the Ivory Coast is considered a model example of an "economic miracle." This would appear to confirm the view that a single political party brings together the forces required for economic development, whereas the multiparty system involves splits and divisions.

[Answer] It is very dishonest to compare the problem of the freedom of the people and the economic achievements of a given regime. In fact, the more dictatorial a regime, the easier it is for it to achieve a certain number of economic results. For the last 4 years salaries have been frozen in the Ivory Coast. That is possible because there is no power in opposition to the government. A chief of government in a democratic country would have had difficulty in doing this. Throughout human history there have been dictatorial regimes which have made considerable economic achievements. For example, there is the Third Reich of Hitler, which reduced inflation and unemployment. However, no one would say today that the Hitler regime was a good one. Therefore, the debate is not over that. Under the shelter of the single political party the regime can do anything and everything in the economic field, without any control whatsoever.

People often compare the Ivory Coast with poorer neighboring countries, such as Mali and Burkina Faso. However, the difference is that in our country the misuse of public funds is reaching proportions which are unknown in the other countries. In my book I spoke of the shameful misuse of public funds in the coffee and cacao industries. I now have documents on the speculative activities carried on by government figures and members of their families regarding rice, which is a food of primary necessity. From time to time the news reports on one of Houphouet's close connections who is involved in a

scandal: for example, Diawara, who was a cabinet minister under Houphouet for 15 years.

[Question] Do you think that a multiparty system would resolve all of these problems?

[Answer] For us democracy and a multiparty system are not ends in themselves but rather means to an end. A multiparty system will not make a country rich. A multiparty system will not give the people something to eat, will not take care of their illnesses, and will not build any schools. That is quite clear in my mind. Therefore, when we fight for the establishment of a multiparty system, that is a means to an end in my mind. It is absolutely necessary that the majority of the people should not work so that a minority might become rich. The Ivory Coast is one of the African countries which has the most billionaires. Therefore, we need to make certain that the majority of the people are guaranteed a certain number of rights: to health, work, education, and the right to live free of fear of the police or of informers.

In specific terms, to attain all of these rights, there are two different philosophies. There is the philosophy of the PDCI which consists of saying: we have a generous, competent man as the leader of our country who loves the country. Let us have confidence in him, and he will resolve all of the problems of his fellow citizens. That is the philosophy of the father and benefactor of the country, which we reject. The policy of a country is not a matter for a single man—whatever his personal qualities otherwise.

Our philosophy is that a country cannot make decisive progress as long as the citizens do not feel involved in the life of the whole nation and as long as they themselves do not assume their responsibilities in the sectors in which they find themselves, in order to fight for and improve their living conditions. So that they can fight and express their points of view without being afraid of going to prison, we need democracy and a multiparty system.

[Question] Can we really speak of a dictatorship in the Ivory Coast when there is a relative freedom of expression in the country?

[Answer] There are bloody dictatorships, but there are also non bloody dictatorships, as is presently the case in the Ivory Coast. In terms of dictatorships, as of democracies, there is a whole range of regimes. There are different types: Salazar was not Hitler; France and the United States are not quite the same thing.

[Question] However, it seems that since 1980 there has been a kind of basic democracy—what is called "Ivorian style democracy," with the election of members of the National Assembly running without the umbrella of the single political party.

[Answer] I think and I have written this: basically, from 1960 to 1985 nothing has changed. When I hear the word "democracy" followed by a

geographic, modifying adjective, I say to myself that this is not democracy. Democracy is a system in which men and women organize themselves according to their political affinities in groups called parties or movements which compete concerning the economic, political, and social orientation of their country. Then each of these parties proposes to the people a certain orientation or program and the men to carry out this program. By choosing one political party rather than another the people choose the men and a program. That is democracy. The act of voting by itself is not enough to call a given regime a democracy. In all of the countries of the world, including Haiti under Duvalier, people vote. However, not all countries are democracies. The act of voting is not the same thing as democracy.

For democracy to exist, it is necessary for the people to agree or not to agree with what is being done. In a way democracy is a kind of institutionalized tolerance. Now, in the Ivory Coast for the past 25 years the PDCI has proclaimed loudly and strongly that it should govern by itself. No party other than the PDCI can make proposals to the country. That is what I call a dictatorship.

[Question] Any person was able to be a candidate for election to the National Assembly in 1980.

[Answer] The elections in 1980 did not change anything. Certainly, people voted for their deputies and municipal counselors. However, nothing has changed in terms of the presidency. There was a single candidate. Now, in a democratic country there is no review of the positions up for election. Here, when there has been an election, it has been stated that all of the candidates were candidates of the PDCI. Those who were elected were automatically representatives of the PDCI. Where is the democracy in that? Under a democratic system there would have been other parties facing the PDCI, proposing other choices for the country. People vote in the Ivory Coast, but there is no opposition deputy and not even defeated opposition candidates. In our view, appointing the deputies or having them elected may perhaps change something in the view which the deputy has of himself. However, that does not change anything in terms of the orientation of the country. It is the same party which is always at the tiller.

[Question] You think, therefore, that 1985 did not bring any changes either?

[Answer] 1985 may have brought great changes, but not because of the elections. The press has spoken of decisive elections in 1985. That is false! However, the year 1985 has been decisive for the Ivory Coast. Not because of the elections--you would have to be naive to believe that the elections are going to change something in the Ivory Coast.

If 1985 was important, it was because, in the first place, everyone hoped that this was the last time that Houphouet would run for a 5-year term. Everyone, beginning with his own associates who, after waiting in the shadows, want to see him gone and hope to be able to play the top role. This includes

everyone, both ourselves in the opposition, and the foreign partners of the Ivory Coast (political and economic partners--the suppliers of funds), who wish to see things more clearly.

Then many people hope to know, after 1985, who the successor of Houphouet will be, whatever the form: whether he is a vice president, a prime minister, or president of the National Assembly, with new powers.

That is what made 1985 important and not the ballots which the people deposited in the ballot boxes.

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CSO: 3419/141

LIBERIA

DOE URGES ARMY TO REMAIN COMMITTED TO NATION

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 16 Dec 85 pp 1, 6

[Text] The Liberian Leader and President-Elect CIC Dr. Samuel K. Doe, has called on members of the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) to have the will to choose service and integrity above privilege and domination. He said: "by setting good examples, and through a deep sense of mission, you must become the catalyst of stability, harmony and growth of our nation".

He said every soldier's responsibility is to fulfil the unconditional obligation to the provisions of the oath upon which he was admitted into the army.

Dr. Doe cautioned the ALF to remain "constant and resolute" as great soldiers, because it is proper behaviour to defend the safety, survival and security of the country, its people and their liberties.

Head of State Doe was speaking at the dedication ceremony of the Charlott Tolbert Memorial Chapel at the Barclay Training Center here.

Dr. Doe said the dedication of the building was a further indication of government's keen desire to meet the needs of the men and women in-arms.

He said, "we believe our interest in seeking the welfare of our people should not be limited to satisfying physical needs but equally, we should strive for the development of such human virtues as motivation, kindness and love, among others".

CIC Doe said the development of the mind and spirit was fundamental to the attainment of the nation's development.

"Our vision for development must be concerned with the whole person and must take into consideration both his spiritual and material progress, for it is only then that real progress can be achieved," CIC Doe added.

He said the government believes that God is at the foundation of any truly great nation, adding, "as our men and women in arms whose duty is to defend and protect the nation, we cannot over-emphasize the importance of the need for you to stand on that solid foundation".

"Indeed", Dr. Doe said, "the dedication of this chapel not only signals a great physical accomplishment, but it is, in itself a symbol of the pride and determination of our people to develop the whole person".

He urged them to continue the noble task of preserving the survival and growth of the country as well as to safeguard its peace, freedom and unity.

Dr. Doe cautioned the men and women in arms to make the best use of the chapel and do all they could to maintain it for the use of the AFL and the general public who would like to worship in it.

/1310.

CSO: 3400/809

LIBERIA

37 IMMIGRATION OFFICERS IMPLICATED IN INVASION PLOT

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 16 Dec 85 p 1

[Article by Momo Dorley]

[Text] Thirty-seven Immigration officers implicated in the November 12 abortive invasion plot, are slated to face the Special Military Tribunal shortly, Immigration Commissioner Edwin J. Taye disclosed last Friday.

The officers to be prosecuted include: Col. William G. Cholopray, Commander for the central region; Col. Harris S. K. Teahmah, Chief of Border Patrol; and Maj. Emmanuel N. Toe, Commander, Freeport Immigration detachment.

Also slated to face the Tribunal are: Nyanti Tuan, Chief of Statistics; R. Outland of the registration division; Alfred S. Mitchell, Chief of Operation in the Security division; Thomas G. Leabah, Commander, RIA; Capt. Guahn S. Johnson, Chief of Investigation, Security division; and Reuben B. Johnson, Operation, Security division.

According to Commissioner Taye, the employees concerned were dismissed and referred to the Tribunal based upon the findings of the special board of investigation appointed by the bureau.

Speaking to the Press on Friday, Commissioner Taye explained that the investigation board was convinced that the individuals were all active participants of the November 12 invasion aimed at overthrowing the government.

The Immigration boss stressed that such individuals could no longer be kept in government service because, according to him, their aims are not in line with government policy.

He then disclosed that those who are not involved will soon be released from further detention to join their families and loved ones at their respective homes.

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CSO: 3400/809

LIBERIA

RETRENCHMENTS CITED AS COST-SAVING MEASURE

Monrovia SUNTIMES in English 18 Dec 85 pp 1, 6

[Text] SUNTIMES has learned that as of early December, a total of 4,453 personnel have been retrenched and retired from government ministries, agencies and public corporations.

As a result of these exercises, the government has saved \$2,904,018 in personnel service cost, excluding the public corporations for which figures could not be obtained.

These figures do not represent certain ministries and agencies of government, whose lists were not available.

These include Internal Affairs, Information, Commerce, Agriculture, National Security Agency, Ministry of National Security, Unity Conference Center, and the Industrial Training Bureau.

Following the government's decision to retrench and retire as a cost-saving measure, Civil Service Director-General Oscar J. Quiah told SUNTIMES in an interview that about 10,750 employees would be affected. He said the figure represented 25 per cent of the government's total work-force of 43,000.

Statistics

Mr. Quiah did not say how many employees in public corporations would have been affected in the exercises.

After the end of the first week of December, the Ministry of Education retrenched 374 and retired 18; Public Works, 261 redundant and 139 retired; Ministry of State, 135 redundant and 94 retired; Agriculture, 125 redundant and 32 retired; Health and Social Welfare, 136 redundant and 94 retired; Planning and Economic Affairs, 66 redundant and 16 retired.

For the agencies, the Civil Service Agency retired one person and declared four redundant; the General Service Agency (GSA) retrenched 23 and retired 10; and the Special Security Service declared 5 redundant and 9 retired, among others.

Regarding the public corporations, among those listed were the Liberia Broadcasting System which pronounced 22 employees redundant and retired one person; Liberia Telecommunications Corporation, 24 redundant and 28 retired; National Port Authority, 425 redundant and 16 retired; and Liberia Water and Sewer Corporation, 142 redundant and 7 retired.

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CS0: 3400/779

LIBERIA

NATIONAL BANK GOVERNOR DISCUSSES LIQUIDITY PROBLEMS

Monrovia DAILY STAR in English 19 Dec 85 pp 1, 7

[Article by Tana Y. Wolokolie]

[Text] The Governor of the National Bank of Liberia, Mr. Thomas D. Voer Hanson, has given "several reasons" for the liquidity problems facing the country.

Addressing students of the Modern Commercial Institute yesterday, Governor Hanson named the failure "by our predecessors" to take adequate and appropriate measures for the future when the economy was in good shape as one of the causes.

He also named the drop in demand of Liberia's main export commodity -iron ore, rubber and timber - as another major contributor to the nation's foreign exchange problem.

Speaking on the theme: "The Road to Economic Recovery," Governor Hanson noted that the "huge debt service payment" has also drained "our reserves abroad." He said that the "debt burden inherited by this Government bears no relationship to any major productive project."

Mr. Hanson also referred to "protectionism practiced by the developed countries" as a "major obstacle to the developing countries, which include Liberia."

He said the "banking problems" today were the result of the imbalance between revenues and expenditures.

He told the graduates at the E.J. Roye Building that as the nation moves toward the Second Republic, one of the primary concerns of the government was to improve the economy.

The Governor then called on business and individual Liberians to review "our credit records and settle our obligations."

On the monetary policy of the bank, Governor Hanson said that the bank has been regulating the availability of money, the promotion of monetary

stability, the promotion of credit and exchange conditions and a sound financial structure conducive to a balance growth of the economy.

He noted that monetary and fiscal policies form the bedrock of economic policies of any country, noting that development depends on economic recovery.

Turning to the graduating class, Governor Hanson urged the students to respect the dignity of labour, be disciplined and have respect for others.

Thirty three students were graduated.

/13104

CSO: 3400/809

LIBERIA

AMBASSADOR URGES INCREASED LEBANESE COMMUNITY INVESTMENTS

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 19 Dec 85 pp 1, 6

[Text] The Lebanese Ambassador to Liberia, Mr. John Alpha, has called on the Lebanese community here to "unite and contribute more meaningfully towards the socio-economic development of Liberia."

He said Liberia was about to experience "fundamental changes" in its socio-economic development" and that Lebanese nationals residing here should assist the country in this endeavour.

Ambassador Alpha made the call Tuesday night at the Lebanese Embassy in Congo Town when he met with Lebanese nationals here to acquaint them with his new assignment in the country.

Ambassador Alpha spoke of the conducive investment climate in the country, and called on his fellow Lebanese to undertake more investments in Liberia.

He praised Head of State CIC Dr. Samuel K. Doe for his "spirit of reconciliation and brotherhood," and expressed the hope that relations between Liberia and Lebanon would continue to grow.

Ambassador Alpha who presented his letters of credence to Dr. Doe said during his tenure in the country, he will endeavour to strengthen the socio-economic and political ties between the two countries.

The chairman of the Lebanese community, Mr. Raef A. Fadel, informed the ambassador of the existing cordial relations between Liberians and members of the community.

He then assured Ambassador Alpha that his administration would do everthing possible to stimualte more investments in an effort to assist Liberia in its reconstruction effort.

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CSO: 3400/779

LIBERIA

MOBIL MANAGER DENIES AIRLINE FUEL SHORTAGE

Monrovia DAILY STAR in English 19 Dec 85 p 8

[Article by Ephraim S. Johns]

[Text] The General Manager of Mobil Oil Liberia Incorporated, Mr. E.D. Manful, has denied that there is a complete shortage of AVGAS products for small airlines in the country.

He said that the shortage of the product as alleged by the management of WEASUA airlines, which led to the suspension of WEASUA domestic commercial flights since Saturday, was due to the failure of the airlines' management to adhere to a warning to all AVGAS users of a possible delay in the distribution of the new consignment.

Explaining the warning in an interview yesterday, Mr. Manful said that in November, all airlines using AVGAS were informed to take necessary precautions in preserving available AVGAS products issued them since it was envisaged that there would be a delay in the delivery of the next consignment.

He said that in the communication, the Sales Engineer of Mobil, Mr. B.D. Cooper, informed AVGAS consumers that the "shipment of AVGAS scheduled for regular stock replenishment" would be delayed due to "circumstances beyond Mobil's control."

Mr. Manful clarified that "in accordance with Mobil International re-certification requirements, samples of the consignment of AVGAS, which arrived in the country and unloaded in Monrovia on December 12, 1985," had been forwarded to the United Kingdom for the required testing in Mobil's laboratory for recertification, a test that requires about two weeks to be completed.

Against this background, Mr. Manful explained, Mobil Oil Liberia Incorporated, introduced a rationing system for its airline customers.

He said despite the warning to the consumers of AVGAS, it appeared that WEASUA used all of its supplies, thus resulting to the shortage which had resulted to the suspension of WEASUA airline flights.

Mr Manful said he was optimistic that the distribution of the new AVGAS products will commence early January 1986 upon the completion of the laboratory test by the end of December.

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CSO: 3400/779

MOZAMBIQUE

BRIEFS

FISHING AID FROM FRANCE--France's Caisse Centrale de Cooperation Economique has agreed a loan of 49.2 million French francs to Mozambique to finance the renovation of 11 trawlers which are used for shrimp fishing. The money will cover in particular the replacement of their freezing equipment, technical assistance and new machinery for the Arnab dockyards. Exports of shrimps, which the Maputo government wants to expand, notably by strengthening the state-owned EMOPESCA company, accounted for 28.8 percent of the value of all Mozambican exports in 1984. Shrimp catches last year totalled 5,800 tonnes, compared with the 1981 figure of 8,700, according to the national statistics authority. The European Economic Community, for its part, decided this week to give Mozambique 7.4 million ECUs (six million dollars), to reorganise small-scale fishing in Inhambane Province. [Text] [Paris THE INDIAN OCEAN NEWSLETTER in English 7 Dec 85 p 7] /9274

REFUGEES IN ZAMBIA--Lusaka--More than 2,000 refugees from Mozambique are still lodged in makeshift camps in Zambia's eastern province where they are being cared for by Zambian Government agencies and refugee organisations. Most of the refugees are women and children from Mozambique's Zambesia Province who fled into Zambia to avoid the fighting between the MNR rebel movement and Mozambican Government troops. [Text] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 28 Nov 85 p 6] /9274

CSO: 3400/738

NIGERIA

BABANGIDA DISCUSSES FOREIGN POLICY, ROLE IN AFRICA

Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 5 Dec 85 p 5

["Excerpts" from the yearly foreign policy address by President Ibrahim Babangida at the patron's dinner of the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, Victoria Island, on 29 November 1985]

[Text] The Nigerian Institute of International Affairs was conceived in 1961 to fulfill a set of national objectives among which were:

--To encourage and facilitate the understanding of international affairs and of the circumstances, conditions and attitudes of foreign countries and their peoples;

--To provide and maintain means of information upon international questions and promote the study and investigation of international questions by means of conferences, lectures and discussions, and by the preparation and publication of books, records and reports, or otherwise as may seem desirable so as to develop a body of informed opinions on world affairs;

--To provide such information and advice to the government of the federation and members of the public as respects to matters concerning international affairs.

I want to state categorically that in the twenty-four (24) years of the NIIA's history, the institute has not only justified its existence by fulfilling the founding father's mission but has in addition, continued to live up to the national expectations in the area of international affairs.

In short, the Nigerian Institute of International Affairs was designed to function as the chief source of articulate ideas on world affairs and public enlightenment in matters concerning international affairs. And I would like to place on record my appreciation and that of the AFRC to the contributions of the NIIA towards enhancing the achievement of national objectives in the area of our external relations.

Having said that, may I state categorically, that whatever may be said about our current conditions, Nigeria in world affairs has earned a major place in the community of nations. In fact, even if we have had to take steps to

guard our interests, as in recent times, we remain the strongest force in the West African region and the greatest hope of Black Africa.

Indeed, peace or war in the African continent without the consideration of Nigerian position has become inconceivable. Somewhere along the line, whether a friend or foe, would have to confront the reality of Nigerian presence in the African international sub-system and as a factor to be reckoned with.

I wish to recall that in my maiden broadcast to the nation, I pledged an open administration. I also pledged full and regular consultations on all issues of vital importance. This administration does not lay claim to exclusive wisdom. We do not lay claim to exclusive knowledge. Neither do we claim exclusive right to proffer solutions to all problems.

In conformity with that pledge, I have, therefore, decided to convene an All-Nigeria conference on foreign policy in the first half of 1986. The conference will draw participants from a cross-section of our country--the organised private sector, the universities, labour unions, students, women's organisation, the media, professional bodies, the armed forces, parastatals and the civil service.

Participants at the conference would focus attention on all areas of our external relations. Furthermore, they would be given the opportunity to chart the course of our external relations up to the year 2000. This is a challenge to the youths, intellectuals, workers and industrialists.

This administration welcomes ideas and would be guided by the proposals and recommendations emanating from the conference.

Every foreign policy begins with a realistic analysis of the nation's domestic political, economic, and social settings. Consequently, mention must be made about Nigeria's ailing economy which is the hottest topic of discussions and debates here at home and abroad.

But before giving the diagnosis of the nature, cause or cure of our present economic malady, it is important to note that in spite of the dark clouds surrounding our economy, Nigeria is still one of the few nations in the world where there exists most of the necessary conditions and means on the basis of which the greatest and most spectacular achievements in human development and growth can be realized.

We hope that this fact should not be ignored by both Nigerian citizens and foreigners alike, for it is upon that reality that the country's optimism and determination to achieve national economic recovery hinges.

The development of self-sufficiency in food production is one of the cardinal goals of this administration. It is for this reason that the agricultural sector has been accorded special role in the 1985 budget with an allocation of 18 per cent of the total national budget.

We have incentive packages for both the industrial/mechanized farmers as well as the rural farming population. We have banned the importation of certain farm products such as maize and rice in order to encourage the local producers.

Ironically one of the most crucial domestic economic issues today is the debate on the IMF. It could be recalled that at the inception of this administration we stated our determination to resolve the IMF dilemma one way or another. And consequently, we threw the debate on the IMF loan open to the Nigerian public as well as set up a committee of experts to study the implications of the IMF loan.

So far we are waiting for the verdicts. However, we have been vigorously tackling the conditions that forced our country to the door-steps of the IMF--that is the problem of depleted and diminishing foreign reserves.

Regional integration arrangements such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) represent useful means of the promotion of accelerated economic development among countries.

However, we will be the first to admit that the ECOWAS has a long way to go before it can fulfill the stated objectives of the founding fathers.

Given the nature of the conflict, we are not in a position to unilaterally break the political and military impasse in Chad today. But we shall continue to work within the framework of the OAU resolutions to resolve the Chadian crisis.

Nigerian dynamic support for the OAU since its inception in 1963 will continue under this administration. We see the OAU as Africa's last hope towards achieving its collective economic and political survival. Thus, the OAU is a core factor in all our foreign policy postures and positions.

The OAU may not have fulfilled all the dreams of its founding fathers, but it has managed in spite of odds to establish itself as the only credible continental agent of conflict management in Africa.

As evidenced, we can point to the recent reactivation of the defence commission of the OAU charged with the responsibility of an effective defence arrangement.

It is unfortunate that South Africa and her supporters continue to obstruct the road to independence for the Namibian people.

It is hard to believe that South Africa has consistently been allowed to disregard all UN resolutions calling for Namibian independence.

Apartheid South Africa remains adamant to the pleadings and resolutions of the international community. In fact, developments in South Africa in recent times have taken a turn for the worse. Hundreds of innocent blacks have fallen victim to the ruthless and remorseless state terrorism in apartheid South Africa.

And that was why we were seriously disturbed by the decision of the Commonwealth Nassau Declaration which opted for a limited sanction against South Africa. We have said it before and must say it again that to us apartheid is morally wrong, politically unacceptable and philosophically unjustifiable.

On our part, however, Nigeria will continue to assist the South African freedom fighters to the best of our ability. And our co-operation with the African National Congress (ANC) and other nationalist organizations representing the South African majorities must continue to constitute the focal point of our struggle against apartheid.

We want to re-affirm our position as a member of the non-aligned nations. We have held this view for the 25 years of our history as an independent and sovereign nation. And our good standing with the movement is clearly justified by our strict adherence to the major tenets of the founding fathers of the Non-Aligned Movement.

We support a greater and more active contacts among the Third World nations. This administration is convinced that dialogue with other Third World countries is necessary. We believe that such dialogues if they could be systematically pursued will lead to effective, useful and lasting co-operation in the long run.

We in Nigeria are seriously concerned by the endless conflicts in the Middle East sub-region. I refer particularly to the Arab-Israeli conflict as well as the Iran-Iraqi war.

We believe that the failure of the international community to find an acceptable solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict is responsible for the tension in the area.

We in Nigeria support the United Nations Resolution 242 which guarantees both the Israelis and the Palestinians their respective rights, and call upon both the Israelis and the Palestinians to consider the peace options within the said UN resolution.

On the Iran-Iraqi conflict, it is our belief that the war has lasted longer than expected.

I wish to briefly touch upon a debate which has been going on in Nigeria for the last two years. Essentially, the debate revolves around the question as to whether Nigeria should continue to maintain her dynamic posture in foreign policy given our current economic difficulties.

Two schools of thought deriving from their varied appreciation of our economic circumstances are discernible. First, there are those who argue that Nigeria should concentrate all her resources on pulling the economy out of its current difficulties through a drastic reduction in our external commitments.

The second school of thought on the other hand, argues that Nigeria is not doing enough for the cause which we profess. The protagonists of this school argue that no sacrifice is too great for the cause of Africa.

Nigeria will continue its active membership in the Commonwealth of nations. We have found our long history of association with the Commonwealth as a useful factor in the overall foreign relations of our country.

OPEC is a very important international organisation and we in Nigeria have had no cause to regret our membership in that organization. And we remain committed today as ever, to the principal objectives which gave rise to the formation of OPEC 25 years ago.

Therefore, I want to state categorically that Nigeria has no intention of leaving OPEC.

Active participation in the United Nations has been a central focus of Nigerian foreign policy in the 25 years of our independence. In all those years Nigerian contributions in all aspects of the United Nations activities have been recognized by the international community.

Equally essential has been our role of championing the total implementation of the United Nations Resolution on the rights of the people to self-determination and political independence particularly within the African continent.

Consequently, in the past 25 years we have supported the United Nations effort towards decolonization and elimination of all forms of racial discrimination.

Let me use this opportunity to ensure that all the remaining pockets of colonialism all over the world are eliminated in no distant future.

We welcome the economic and social activities of the United Nations throughout the world but particularly in Africa. We have always appreciated the willingness of the United Nations to participate as partners in progress with several Third World countries who seek solutions to their various problems of economic under-development and social malaise.

However, we believe that the present situation where a vast majority of the United Nations members are denied veto powers is morally wrong and politically unjustifiable.

We therefore, propose an immediate review of the United Nations Charter in order to accommodate an equitable distribution of power within the United Nations. There can be no justification whatsoever for the continued denial of a veto power to the entire continent of Africa with 51 member states and constituting approximately one-third of the entire United Nations membership of 159 states.

We call upon the super powers to rededicate themselves to the principles upon which the United Nations was founded 40 years ago. We see the present postures of the super powers in relation to the use of the United Nations as an instrument of solving international problems as dangerous.

We have observed in recent years a new trend in the super powers' attitude towards the United Nations which borders on 'tactical avoidance' of this world body in preference to increased bilateralism.

This government is committed to the promotion and protection of human rights both domestically and internationally. We fully realise that in order for us to effectively act out this commitment at the international level, we must begin at home to build a society that guarantees freedom, within the limits of law, to the individual.

Consequently, the objective of this administration concerning human rights is to demonstrate that a Nigerian government can be both competent and humane.

This administration will welcome genuine foreign investors with genuine commitment to participate with us as partners in progress in our efforts to revive our national economy. To such foreign investors we shall provide all kinds of incentives and favourable economic and investment environments.

We are aware that in the past, some foreigners were involved in mischievous activities in collaboration with some of our own unpatriotic elements to do havoc to our national economy. But in my view it is pointless to blame the foreigners or the multi-nationals, they are here because we allowed them and should not hesitate to deal with those of them or their agents whose actions become detrimental or inimical to our economic goals and objectives.

Instead, we should screen the foreign investors and multi-nationals thoroughly and make it categorically clear to them that the bottom line of our agreement with them is that they are here and remain here only on the grounds that they do not constitute themselves into nuisance or a national menace.

This is an option legitimately belonging and exercised by all sovereign states. Yet the reality remains today that we need foreign investors in order to accelerate and realise some of our national economic objectives.

The constancy of our national character is what gives stability and continuity to our foreign policy. Throughout our short but crowded history, we have had no desire to impose upon others the patterns of our thought and our institutions.

Rather, we have always taken pride in the fact that our principles no matter how conceived are drawn from the role history has bestowed upon us. Hence towards friends or potential foes, we will continue to act as a people, proud of our heritage, assured in our convictions and confident in our destiny.

/6091
CSO: 3400/775

NIGERIA

UKIWE BRIEFS MEDIA ON ECONOMIC SITUATION

Lagos DAILY TIMES in English 2 Dec 85 p 5

["Excerpts" from a briefing of media executives by Ebitu Ukiwe, chief of general staff, on 27 November 1985; place not given]

[Text] The Economic Situation:

Revenue collection recorded a satisfactory performance between January and October, 1985. The total federally collected revenue for the period January 1-October 31, 1985, amounted to N10,940,268,633.56. This amount represents 97 per cent of the sum of N11,237,808,976 projected as total Federally collected revenue for the 1985 fiscal year. Out of the total Federally collected revenue, the sum of N8,352,901,877.92 was derived from the oil sector while an amount of N2,596,366,755.64 represents non-oil proceeds. The receipts of the Federal Government between August and October, 1985, being 55 per cent share of the Federally collected revenue was N1,596,578,980.00.

Revenue Generation:

Faced with the increasing problem of insufficient revenue to finance the developmental needs of the nation, a number of measures were introduced by the Federal Military Government aimed at encouraging ministries/departments of governments to generate more funds.

From the findings of the revenue monitoring exercise instituted by government at the beginning of the financial year, it is evidenced that many of these measures have paid off. As at the end of October, a total sum of N784,214,487.76 accrued from companies income tax and other levies.

During the same period, the Customs and Excise Department collected a total sum of N1,802,152,276.88. The two new [word illegible] introduced under sections 10 and 27 of the Finance (Miscellaneous Taxation Provisions) Decree of 1985, Overseas Travel and Companies Pre-Operation levies yielded [figure illegible] and N3,266,764 respectively between January and September, 1985.

Tax Collection:

In spite of the general economic depression which has slowed down the activities of most companies revenue collection continues to improve. Significant increases were recorded especially in petroleum profits tax and companies income tax.

The introduction of tax deduction at source from a variety of business and investment incomes has considerably enhanced taxpayer-compliance. The deductions at source from business incomes are effected from payments made to corporate bodies in respect of all types of contract activities, commissions, consultancy, management and technical services. Similar deductions are effected from payments made to individuals in the states where the respective states internal revenue have made regulations to that effect.

Tax deduction at source is also effected from investment incomes payable to corporate bodies, unincorporated bodies and individuals. Organisations and establishments approved for the operation of PAYE are obliged to make the deductions from payments due from them.

Government Bank Account:

The Federal Government current account with the Central Bank of Nigeria had a credit balance of ₦210,076 million as at August 31, 1985. The balance on the account as at November 15, 1985, when the last advice was revealed was a debit of ₦1,090,288 million. In other words, the overdraft (ways and means) of the Federal Government at the Central Bank was ₦1,090,286 million, as at November 15, 1985. This is an indication that expenditure has significantly been exceeding revenue during the period under review.

A statement of Federal Government investments in parastatals and companies as at October 31, 1985, has provisionally revealed a total investment of over ₦23 billion as follows:

Equity Investments	₦11,431,077,534
Loans	₦10,424,720,053
Guaranteed Naira Loans	₦ 1,359,469,632
Total	₦23,215,267,219

There are also other loans guaranteed in foreign currencies as follows:

(i) DM	2,128,706,062.05
(ii) DFL	8,947,500.00
(iii) US\$	16,200,000.00

It is clear from the foregoing that the rates of returns on government investments in parastatals and companies in respect of both equity and loans are not satisfactory and for that reason, this administration is reviewing the situation with a view to formulating a policy of "Privatisation" and/or "Commercialisation" of some of these parastatals and companies.

Government Debts of N500,000 and Below:

A team of treasury officials is undertaking the compilation of all debts of the Federal Government of N500,000 and below, with a view to helping government decide what action to take in this regard.

Reduction of Frauds at Federal Pay Offices:

The treasury internal audit unit was set up in four additional Federal pay offices in the states during the period under review. By this, such units have been set up in eighteen Federal pay offices. The internal audit carries out one hundred per cent pre-payments audit of payment vouchers with a view to preventing the initiation of frauds or detecting them before they take place.

Federation Account:

Receipts of the Federal Government, being its fifty-five per cent share of Federally collected revenue, were as follows:

August	1985	N478,385,004.35
September	1985	N484,734,441.30
October	1985	N633,459,514.44
November	1985	N1,596,578,960.09

Loans Servicing for the Period of 27th August, 1985 to 19th November, 1985:

A total payment of N699,135,737.66 was made during the above stated period.

The public debt statement up to September, 1985 has been updated. All loans servicing for the month of November, 1985 are in progress.

Review of Agricultural Production Programmes:

The over-riding importance which we attach to food and agriculture is already well known. We do not want to pursue agricultural development by mere slogans.

Over the years, there had been various attempts to identify the inherent constraints which hindered the development of agriculture in Nigeria. Several reports have been made by different study groups such as those on food production, private sector participation, restructuring of the Commodity Board System etc. These reports will have to be re-examined in the light of our present economic circumstances. Government has realised that efforts have to be concentrated in specific areas rather than spread our limited resources all over and without impact.

Food Production:

Recommendation for achieving surplus production of maize in the country have been received. Reports of grain harvest this year indicated bumper harvests.

Field production figures recently compiled by the Federal Ministry of Agriculture, Central Planning Department show a harvest of 3 million tonnes of maize, 3.6 million tonnes of millet and over 15 million tonnes of cassava.

Emphasis will continue to be given to the small-scale producers of food items including live-stock and fisheries. In the same vein, networks of small irrigation projects and earth dams are to be emphasised. Necessary hydrological tests are currently being carried out all over the country to ascertain the suitability of various locations.

Institutional Readjustment:

The relevance of proper institutional frame-work to the successful implementation of programmes has been recognised. It is in this context that the River Basin and Rural Development Authorities were reduced in number.

From the coming year financial allocation for capital projects will be based to a large extent on the field performance of projects. For the promotion of increased production of cash crops and their marketing, steps to restructure the Commodity Boards have already been set in motion.

Increases in the producer prices of Cocoa and Coffee for 1985/86 season have been approved. The price increases are intended to encourage and stimulate farmers to raise their level of production. Federal Government guarantees are also being issued to the respective Commodity Boards to enable them secure necessary loans from the Central Bank of Nigeria for their buying operations.

Privatisation:

The issues relating to commercialisation and privatisation of certain agricultural ventures by the Government continue to receive attention. It has been mentioned earlier in this address that the rates of returns on Government investments in Parastatals and Companies have not been satisfactory and this state of affairs calls for a review of the policy.

It is our intention that the organised private sector should be fully involved with the operation of cash crop estates, livestock ranches, fishing terminals, forestation projects and many other agro-allied projects.

Expatriate Quota:

Strict monitoring of the issuance of business permits and expatriate quota has been instituted to ensure that aliens in the country carry on only those activities functions for which they are granted resident and work permits.

Closer co-ordination between the Business Unit and various units--Factory Inspection, Immigration etc. are now the order of the day, together with rigorous interviews with chief executives of applicant companies in matters relating to expatriate quota allocation.

De-Congestion of Prisons:

The release of many detainees and others awaiting trial for unduly long periods coupled with the non-application of Decree 4 since its abrogation has led to an appreciable reduction of the level of over-crowding in our prison.

In keeping with the posture of the Government on human rights protection, health-care delivery in the prisons has been improved with the release of over ₦500,000 to the prison authorities for the acquisition of medicines.

Welfare of staff and prison inmates has been considerably enhanced through various ways--such as consideration for establishment of Prison Boards, improvement in staff training facilities and prompt payment of outstanding food contract bills.

Some recruitment has been intensified particularly in the Immigration Department.

Customs and Excise Department:

The Customs and Excise Department has intensified its revenue collection activities.

Total Customs and Excise revenue collected in the past three months are:

August 1985	₦154,504,009.98
September 1985	₦133,779,041.54
October 1985	₦126,802,055.48

Education:

There has been a successful take-off of the supply of the Junior Secondary School (JSS) Workshop equipment for effective implementation of the new Education System. A total of 944 sets of workshop equipment consisting of woodwork, metalwork, electronics and mechanics components worth ₦18,370,109 were received.

The equipment had since been distributed to the Ministries of Education of the 19 States of the Federation and the Federal Capital Territory Abuja each receiving at least 20 sets of equipment.

The next set of 1,384 sets of workshop equipment will start to arrive in the country within the period December 15-30, 1985.

In the area of technical teachers education, 260 candidates were processed for B.Ed. (Tech.) and M.Ed. (Tech.) in American Universities. These will provide technical teachers to serve in our technical and allied institutions. Workshops on maintenance of science equipment, teaching of mathematics, and science subjects construction of instructional aids were mounted. [as published]

The National Register of foreign qualifications and their Nigeria equivalents is being compiled while the issue of non-accredited and private schools in some overseas countries has been clearly set out in a new publication soon to be released.

The creation of the new Ministry of Science and Technology is a realisation of the important role of science and technology in the total development and economic prosperity of the nation.

An appropriate Science and Technology policy for Nigeria is currently engaging the attention of Government. The policy is designed to give direction of scientific and technological activities in the country.

Such activities will be geared towards the attainment of self-sufficiency in goods and services and the solution of technical and allied problems of development.

The Governments of the Federation through the ministries of industry held several meetings in order to examine our current approach to industrial development and chart out new approaches.

There was consensus that the period of economic emergency should serve as a period of stock-taking of the past with a view to introducing some structural changes to give primacy to the agricultural sector and achieve rural oriented industrial development. The use of local raw materials or local substitutes as industrial inputs should be vigorously pursued through an enforcement of an imported raw materials deletion programme.

Governments will take steps to divest themselves of major equity participation in economic ventures which are better left to the Private Sector.

The automotive sub-sector has increasingly come under the scrutiny of government, with a view to rationalising its operation within the background of our present economic situation. A meeting of the top executives of the Assembly/Manufacturing companies, the Nigerian Machine Tools Industry and the Minister of Industries has been held.

The outcome of the meeting will constitute a blue print that will bring the automotive industrial sub-sector in line with the realities of the present economic emergency.

A new national policy on sugar has already been approved by the government to be effective from next year. The policy which aims at ensuring that the nation achieves self-sufficiency in the local production of sugar within the shortest time possible will encourage private investors--local and foreign--industrial users of sugar to participate in the development of our local industry. A stop will be put to a free-for-all importation of sugar, as only those who will participate in the local production will be allowed to import sugar until nations self-sufficiency is achieved.

Export Promotion:

To achieve this objective, export promotion is being accorded the priority it deserves. A comprehensive package of export incentives which will enable Nigerian manufacturers to be seriously engaged in the export of made-in-Nigeria goods to foreign countries, has been worked out.

1985 Import Licence Exercise:

At the inception of this Government, the 1985 import licence exercise was almost at an end. Since then no licence has been issued for general merchandise. Further consideration of 1985 applications has been stopped because of foreign exchange constraints. Appeals by beneficiaries whose licences were earlier cancelled are being considered and those with genuine cases would be revalidated.

1986 Import Licence:

The 1986 exercise will be done in conjunction with the States. Meetings have been held with State Government representatives where guidelines for processing applications and formats for briefs were drawn up.

We have expressed our conviction of the urgent necessity to improve relations with our immediate neighbours, relations which had been seriously impaired by some of the actions and policies of the previous administration. Indeed, under the two previous administrations there was a growing perception by our neighbours and other African countries that the leading role with which Nigeria had been widely identified had become increasingly blurred.

Our commitment to the total liberation of Africa and the eradication of the obnoxious system of Apartheid in South Africa remains unshakeable.

/6091

CSO: 3400/775

SENEGAL

BRAZILIAN AMBASSADOR DISCUSSES GROWING COOPERATION

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 6 Dec 85 p 5

[Article by B. Khalifa Ndiaye: "Senegalese and Brazilians Make a Team"]

[Text] In our talk with the Brazilian ambassador to Senegal, who attended our editorial staff meeting, we certainly covered soccer, but also South-South cooperation. Guy M. de Castro Brandao regards this as "simple, flexible and at minimum cost."

If there is one subject that will always come up in talking to a Brazilian, it is soccer. Even though the Brazilian is a diplomat, and an ambassador as well. This "truth" was confirmed again during the ambassador's participation in our Wednesday afternoon staff meeting. Mr Brandao, who has been assigned to our country since March, came to visit us because, as he emphasized, he had "something to say and something to propose."

However, since soccer is unavoidable, we did begin with that. Pele, that "extraordinary man who has so much in his right foot, his left foot, and his head," Garincha with the deceptive dribbles, the glorious pass, and the future of the king sport in this country that is almost a continent; we covered it all.

Mr Brandao then got round to the purpose of his visit, and when he concluded it was readily evident that this man is far seeing in regard to cooperation between his country and ours. Indeed, it could not be otherwise considering the many points in common between Senegal and Brazil, and the openings to be exploited for promoting relations, which have never been so good. He said he was pleased that Senegal, which has only one embassy in South America, in Brasilia, of course, has understood this "interest in bringing us together."

Brazil believes in horizontal South-South cooperation, and despite this cooperation's numerous problems, it sees many possibilities that it asks only to present to its Third World partners. Mr Brandao revealed that during the last half-century, "large study programs relating to appropriate techniques and technology have been carried out in our universities and research centers." This year alone, 600 billion CFA francs have been spent in various fields. The country's external debt (\$109 billion) is staggering, but the Brazilian ambassador said that that is only the tip of the iceberg; the domestic debt is even larger. That is why the choice here is "not to finance

the cooperation projects that are being proposed to us, but to insure a simple and solid cooperation, effective and at minimum cost."

Thus, Brazil, which has very long experience in manioc growing, will help our country in its revival of this enterprise. The Brazilian expert assigned to the program will arrive soon to work together with the Senegalese agronomists. Another is already here, in his case assigned to explain to local specialists the benefits of three varieties of trees grown in northeast Brazil and which appear to be "one of the solutions against desertification." In fact, many years of plant genetic studies in this region, "which is the geographical and climatological continuation of Senegal," have resulted in this conclusion, which we Senegalese only hope will be confirmed.

In the field of food processing, also, there is cooperation between ISRA and its Brazilian counterpart ITAL, but it should be strengthened in the coming years, because of the new prospects offered. However, the flow of contacts will not be in one direction only, since, according to Mr Brandao, "Chemical Industries of Senegal (ICS) recently renewed contact with Brazilian phosphate importers," and Senegalese exports to that country may begin soon. Also, Brazil is considering buying white beans from us. There are many fields for cooperation, and, added the Brazilian ambassador addressing our businessmen, "one must show imagination." In any case, Brazil is very interested in dealing with our country. Evidence of this is that, despite the difficulties (external and internal debts), the budget of the Dakar embassy will be increased in 1986.

There were many questions, on relations between the two countries (in sport, air transport, etc) and on cultural life in Brazil. Concerning specifically the efforts to produce a black cultural movement in his country, Mr Brandao affirmed that they are all a flash in the pan, because "we are a country without communities, but nevertheless committed to preserving the African culture." The interpenetration is such that we are on the sure road to the birth of a new race, the Brazilian.

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CSO: 3419/147.

SENEGAL

PARTY STUDY, RESEARCH GROUP HOLDS FIRST SESSION

Dakar LE SOLEIL in French 6 Dec 85 p 5

[Article by Cheikh Tidiane Dieye, member of the Socialist Party (PS) Study and Research Group (GER): "Meeting with the Rank and File"]

[Text] "We refuse to be intellectuals of the party working in isolation and developing great abstract theories without relationship to the concrete realities and the daily concerns of the party member."

"We remain anchored to the real." More than a profession of faith, one should see in this affirmation by Moustapha Ka, coordinator of the GER of the PS and office director for the president of the Republic, the expression of a strong will and resolute commitment of the GER members to remain faithful to the Gramscian concept of the organic intellectual. On this first outing of the GER at the Louga communal council, the organization devoted some 6 hours of open debate and fruitful discussion to collective reflection on the basic questions concerning the life of the party first raised in the very rich document by Babacar Sine, lecturer, and by the many members there to attend the meeting.

Before the discussion began, the mayor of Louga and secretary general of the communal council, Mousse Daby Diagne, accompanied by his main assistants, in particular Daly Ndiaye, warmly welcomed the GER delegation and offered the help of all members of his commune to the party secretary general and to any initiative contributing to research and strengthening of the gains of the PS.

At the outset, as if to highlight the subject of the party's new approach, the GER coordinator, Moustapha Ka, indicated that "since Abdou Diouf acceded to leadership of the country and party, profound mutations have marked the national life and the life of our political organization. Any mutation is a questioning that upsets the established order, preconceptions, sluggishness, and habits. This phenomenon has assumed such scope that some members and leaders have lost their natural points of reference and feel unbalanced, disoriented; others, not understanding the course of events, have folded their arms, thus falling into a waiting stance; others have created a malaise among themselves and around them; others have tried to create an antagonism between the secretary general and his party, between the party and the government, between the leaders and the members, between the supporters and opponents of the renewal."

After inviting a broad, frank, and direct discussion of the party's new approach dealing with its coherence, objectives and implications, Moustapha Ka expressed his conviction that the "party is in the process of mutation. No," he emphasized, "the party is not adrift, as some ill-willed people proclaim. Its policy is developing in accordance with a coherent and clear concept. Yet, what the party's approach has been lacking is a pertinent and convincing message, also effective and well-established drive mechanisms, but especially a permanent dialogue between the base and the summit."

It was along this same line of thinking that Babacar Sine directed his statements. Before turning to the elements of the party's new approach, Sine mentioned and explained the profound significance of certain landmarks in the evolution of the PS, particularly since President Abdou Diouf acceded to the highest office. Responding to methodological and even didactic reasons, he defined this evolution in three major phases: the stage of substantial malaise, the event of the extraordinary congress, and the stage of the issues development of a new party approach. The identification of the malaise and its causes enabled revelation of certain central factors. Among these, the speaker noted what he called "the inadequate understanding between the president and some sections of the party; the massive influx of new members, particularly staff; the emergence on the periphery of the party of parallel organizations (COSAPAD, etc); and the new style of the president, which has upset, a style based on discretion." Also, according to Sine, "many members and staff of good faith, upset in this way, have been quick to automatically confuse this discretion of a stylistic and ethical nature with a calculated and deliberate practice of mystery, excluding them from the political decisions. Also, there were ambiguities of the appeal that were not sufficiently explained," without forgetting the struggles for positioning and repositioning that emphasized and strengthened the quasi-structural problems of the party (factions, favoritism, etc).

After analyzing in detail the consequences of this malaise, recalling the shock treatment constituted by the extraordinary congress, and defining the historic significance of this congress, marked by "a definite clarification of some questions that were causing a problem," Babacar Sine listed as among the composing elements of the party's new approach a strengthening of internal democracy, conception together by the party leadership and the think organizations and others; and better restructuring between the party and the party's peripheral organizations and mass movements. Nevertheless, 2 years after the extraordinary congress, Sine does not deny the continuation of some sluggishness. He concluded: we must "reckon with the forces of inertia and our own past."

With the goal of promoting the involvement and thought of many of the members present, Babacar Sine's address was translated and commented on in a polished Wolof by Mamadou Abbas Ba, director general of the Price Standardization and Stabilization Fund, a member of the GER. There were enthusiastic discussions, including some 40 statements, covering issues as diverse as application of circular 001, state disinvolvement, the new agricultural policy, internal democracy, increasing coordination facilities, giving youth a sense of responsibility, party-state relations, the coexistence of the party with the peripheral organizations in support of President Diouf, the necessity to

expand the Party School's training capabilities, the electoral committees, etc. These discussions reflected the high level of awareness of the party members and their capability to handle the concerns of the hour.

It was no doubt in the light of this dynamic, militant feeling that the coordinator of the GER, Moustapha Ka, affirmed in closing this meeting, the first in a series, that the PS will continue to fill the national political arena in cohesion, unity and respect for the fundamental documents that guide the life of the party.

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CSO: 3419/147

SIERRA LEONE

GOVERNMENT EFFORTS TO COMBAT SMUGGLING OUTLINED

Freetown DAILY MAIL in English 14 Nov 85 p 6

[Article by Raymond Akabi Davis]

[Text] Sierra Leone's smuggling situation has been more than a household issue. In recent years, as the Government has not hesitated to point out, smuggling has been one of the most cancerous cankerworms eating daily into the economy and it is not surprising that both the local and foreign media have often focussed on the unpalatable aspects of this pernicious problem in our midst.

When one takes into account the appreciable potential wealth from this country's natural resources including diamonds and gold, it is immediately of concern that so much of the revenue from these areas goes down the drain through smuggling.

It was to combat these nefarious dealings by smugglers, that the Government set up the Special Anti-smuggling Squad (SAS) some two years back.

But how far has this squad been successful in eradicating or reducing smuggling in this country thus increasing the hopes and aspirations of the people for a better tomorrow?

The Special Anti-smuggling Squad (SAS) has been headed by about four previous commanders drawn from the Police and Military forces. The most recent holders have been a Senior Police Officer in the Northern Province Mr. N. J. Siaffa and a Special Branch man a Mr. Sesay.

Presently it is headed by Special Branch Personnel Deputy Superintendent of Police Mr. Mohamed Kaikai who assumed Commandership early this year.

There had been a lot of rumours that appear to be wrong that SAS was set up by an outside source, independent of the police. The truth of the matter however is that a local well wisher, on the invitation of Government provided the government with vehicles, communications equipment to help in combating the heinous crime of smuggling.

Squad

The Squad is operated under the police and its commander is answerable to the Commissioner of Police who in turn is answerable to the Head of State.

Another misconception was that the Squad was headed by a Britisher called Philip McQueen. Mr. McQueen was a paratrooper in the British Army and later a Special Security Agent who was acquired to offer his skill and know-how when the Government set up the Squad.

However, when Mr. Kaikai took over the Squad Mr. McQueen was asked to confine his activities to the hotels where he would be accessible to information from smugglers who visited them.

The present staff working under Mr. Kaikai, a total of 52, is made up of officials of the Customs and Excise Department, Police force and Military forces and amongst them are two senior military officers of the rank of Lieutenant, six Customs officers including two Principal Customs Officers and various divisions of the Police.

Though the Squad is an all male set up, whenever a female suspect is apprehended, the help of female members of the Police Force becomes necessary.

Warrants

Police officers are sometimes hampered when operating if they are not in possession of search warrants or warrants of arrests, but for the rather tough bunch of SAS officials this is no problem as they are armed with signed search warrants and warrants of arrests when going on their daily assignments so they can execute enforceable arrests and searches on the spot.

The squad's activities had previously been limited to Lungi Airpot and Kambia, but with the recent escalation of smuggling in the country its activities have been geared to cover not only Lungi Airport and Kambia, but also the Koindu border, the Mano River Union and Koinadugu and the entire sea coast.

Smuggling is not part time business. It is large, extensive and covers wide areas in the country. With five operational vehicles equipped with communication gear and military equipment acquired from the Government to cover the provincial regions and two Datsun vans to cover Lungi and Freetown, the Anti-smuggling Squad is well prepared to face the challenge.

Arrests for smuggling and fines are made irrespective of rank, position, or class. Even if a Cabinet Minister is caught he will have to pay his fine and the duty imposed on the smuggled goods.

Operations

Operations to counter smuggling can only be effective if the Commander of SAS is given a free hand to operate, independent of those who claim to be influential. No right-thinking and loyal son of the soil should capitalise on

his position of influence or authority to the extent of encouraging or condoning a crime against the State, which smuggling really is.

It is noteworthy that the President-elect himself Major General J. S. Momoh has earmarked Anti-smuggling activities as one of his priorities when he assumes the office of President.

A smuggler has only himself to blame for the consequence he suffers when caught for smuggling for when he is finally apprehended he has to pay duty for the smuggled goods together with a fine imposed which will be three times that of the duty paid, both which are determined by the Commander of SAS and the Controller of Customs.

Smuggling

The Customs Act empowers the Controller of Customs to levy a fine, interpret the Acts, or orders the forfeiture of the smuggled goods and so on.

Most of the cases are not prosecuted, but there are times when smuggling becomes a criminal offence such as the smuggling of drugs into the country. In such a case the Controller of Customs levies a fine and then informs the police who takes charge of the illegal aspect of the offence.

Contraband so far seized by the Squad includes gold, diamonds, drugs and essential goods.

/13104

CSO: 3400/810

SIERRA LEONE

BRIEFS

USSR DONATES FISH--The Soviet Union has presented about one hundred and forty five tons of frozen fish to Sierra Leone under the protocol signed in September between the USSR Ministry of Fisheries and the Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources. The consignment brought the total of fish given to Sierra Leone from September to October this year to one thousand tons. Speaking at the ceremony the Acting Representative of the USSR Ministry of Fisheries in Sierra Leone, Mr. Alexander K. Zvirjako, said that the USSR government made the decision to deliver one thousand tons of frozen fish free of charge as a desire to promote further bilateral relationship between the two states and to render assistance to the people of Sierra Leone. Mr. Zvirjako said that the Soviet Fishing Vessels operating in Sierra Leone territorial waters are contributing immensely to the availability of fish in the country. The Protocol of the Eighth Session of Mixed Commission between the two Ministers was signed last year in Moscow. [Text] [Freetown DAILY MAIL in English 30 Oct 85 p 3] /13104

CSO: 3400/810

FREETING OF CURRENCY FROM RSA RAND CONSIDERED

Mr Sibusiso Dlamini Statement

Cape Town WEEKEND ARGUS in English 7 Dec 85 p 4

[Unsigned article: "Swaziland Likely to Sever Parity Link With RSA Rand"]

[Text]

MBABANE. — Swaziland is expected soon to cut its currency loose from parity with the South African rand, according to a statement by the Minister of Finance, Mr Sibusiso Dlamini.

The statement said a major result of this decision, when it was put into effect, would be that the rand would lose its status as a legal form of currency in Swaziland.

It would be for the Swaziland government to decide whether in the future it might be desirable to change the present one-for-one exchange rate between the rand and the lilangeni, the statement said.

The implications of the statement were not immediately clear outside of government circles in Mbabane.

There was confusion over whether it implied an imminent withdrawal by Swaziland from the Rand Monetary Area, as Botswana did in 1975.

The Minister's statement said: "The effects of the one-to-one relationship with the rand are not always advantageous to Swaziland.

"The removal of legal tender status from the rand is intended to reduce the inconvenience which would be caused to residents of Swaziland by any future change which might be decided in the existing rate position."

Businessmen Oppose

Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 10 Dec 85 p 5

[Text]

A CROSS-SECTION of Swaziland's businessmen and bankers interviewed at the weekend said they foresaw no advantages resulting from the proposed freeing of the Swazi currency, the lilangeni, from the rand, either in the immediate or long-term future.

They said the fact that the two economies were so closely linked would make it impossible for the exchange rate between the currencies — at present on a par — to change in Swaziland's favour.

31 January 1986

SWAZILAND

POLITICAL PROSPECTS AFTER CORONATION VIEWED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 27 Dec 85 p 10

[Article by Gerald L'Ange: "The Making of a King"]

[Text] A new era promising to bring profound change to Swaziland will begin when Crown Prince Makhosetive becomes king next year.

For many Swazis Makhosetive's coronation on April 25 will also be a celebration of the end of an ugly chapter in their country's history.

This was a period of Byzantine intrigue and turmoil as politicians struggled for the power relinquished by King Sobhuza II when he died in 1982. Amid allegations of massive corruption, the rigid traditions that had governed the exercise of power were twisted and upturned, shaking the nation.

It ended in October with the sacking from the supreme council of state of the two strongmen — Prince Mfanasibili and Dr George Msibi — who had risen to power after the death of the aged and ailing Sobhuza.

Makhosetive's era began then. Though still at boarding school in England, the teenage prince had become the focus of a rebellion by senior members of the royal family against the shifting of power away from the monarchy and towards the supreme council of state, the Liqoqo.

Tough-minded

From behind the prince's outward appearance of youthful innocence emerged signs of tough-mindedness that heartened loyal royalists.

Regaining its grip on the leash of government, the royal family

brought the Liqoqo back to heel, stripping it of its self-awarded executive powers and reducing it again to the status of an advisory body to the powerful monarch.

When Makhosetive recently stepped from the plane bringing him back from England to prepare to ascend the throne he was an imposing figure, standing more than 1.8m tall in his smart executive suit.

The small boy who had gone to England to be prepared for kingship had come back as a man ready to occupy it.

As Makhosetive goes through the final pre-coronation rituals several loose ends from the dark days remain to be tied up.

Still detained without trial are five prominent Swazis arrested several months ago at the height of the power struggle — a former finance minister, army commander, police chief, deputy police chief and army logistics chief.

In the absence of any trials outsiders have assumed the authorities have no charges to bring against them and are trying to find a face-saving way of letting them go.

Also unresolved are numerous allegations of high-level corruption, including an alleged customs fraud involving about R13 million.

In the coming year the young king will come up against political and economic problems that will test his judgment — or his relations with his advisers.

Swazis are being stretched on the same low income-high price rack as South African citizens. Rising unemployment looms as another major problem.

The kingdom's South African links will come under political as well as economic strains. A South African trade commission has been opened in Mbabane but at the same time Swaziland is under foreign pressure to co-operate in the tightening of economic sanctions against the Republic.

To please South Africa, Swaziland has cracked down on ANC operations within its borders, but could find it increasingly difficult to maintain this stance. It can depart from it only at the risk of incurring Pretoria's anger, however.

Swaziland's claims to areas in South Africa — an issue close to Sobhuza's heart — have been shelved, but probably not forever.

Tradition

How the novice king will ap-

proach these and Swaziland's other problems is difficult to predict. Tradition has kept him from making speeches or giving interviews and relatively few people have heard the sound of his voice let alone been able to get an impression of his mind personality.

But it is a fair guess that his attitude will differ sharply from his traditionalist father's in many respects. His English boarding school education will almost certainly ensure that. There are rumours that after his coronation he will attend Sandhurst military college in England, which would further distance him from the tribal tradition that governs much of Swazi life, sometimes stiflingly.

Among young Swazis there is growing impatience with the old ways. It will be surprising if they do not get at least some sympathy from Makhosetive.

It may well turn out that the young king, once he has warmed the throne, will encourage some radical changes in Swazi life.

/12851

CSO: 3400/753

SWAZILAND

BRIEFS

EFFORTS TO END RITUAL MURDERS--One of Swaziland's most senior chiefs, Prince Mancibane, has called for legislation under which convicted ritual murderers would be burnt to death in public. Prince Mancibane, father of the self-exiled former Prime Minister, Prince Mabandla, said at the weekend that only by such harsh measures would the country be able to stop the alarming numbers of ritual murders being committed, especially in the Khohho district in north-western Swaziland. He said an urgent meeting of the country's chiefs, along with the government, was necessary to discuss the ritual murder problem to find a positive solution "to end it once and for all". Swaziland's High Court judges have frequently expressed their deep concern over the large number of ritual murders committed in the country which, along with rape, is seen as the country's number-one crime. A Swazi witch-doctor, who said he had been trained in South Africa, is at present awaiting trial after being arrested in the Nhlengano district after being found in possession of three human skulls and a human hand. He will be the first person in the country to be charged under the new legislation passed by parliament earlier this year, which makes it a serious punishable offence to be in unlawful possession of human flesh or human bones. [Text]
[Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 10 Dec 85 p 12] /12851

CSO: 3400/753

TANZANIA

SCIENTISTS STUDY HIGH-YIELDING PROTEIN-RICH LEGUME

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 13 Dec 85 p 4

[Text] Of late meat has become increasingly very dear for the ordinary man in Tanzania. A kilogram costs almost Tshs. 100, about US \$5. The average family man earns about Tshs 810 or US \$48--making meat a luxury hard to come by.

Beans seems the only alternative. However beans too, when it is available is just as expensive, it fetches half the price of meat.

Scientist now seem to have the answer at hand.

Seed experts at the Sokoine University of Agriculture in Morogoro, about 170 kilometres West of Dar es salaam have since 1980 been researching on a high yielding unique legume which could easily bridge the gap caused by beans scarcity in the country.

The legume is new, at least to this East Africa area and it is dubbed the "winged bean" following the shape of its pod. Other common names include the four angled bean, manila bean, asparagus pea, and princess pea. Scientifically it is however known as *Psophocarpus tetragonolobus*.

Professor Ashock Karel, of Crop Science at the University said, the winged bean originated in Papua New Guinea and South Asia. It was brought to the university about five years back and work on adapting it to Tanzania had been going on ever since.

According to the Professor, the seed may be distributed to peasants in Morogoro region for trial soon. If found feasible it would be provided to other regions in the country.

The advantage of this legume is that all its parts are edible, that is from the leaves, pods, seeds shoots and the tuberous roots, and are of high nutritional value.

This legume which grows well in both dry and wet seasons at an elevation of up to 1,800 metres from sea level.

The leaves are cooked like any other vegetables while its flowers when boiled, are as palatable as mushroom paste. More interesting dried leaves of this winged bean could be rolled and smoked like tobacco, but without the dreaded poisonous nicotine which is contained in normal tobacco.

The young pods of the plant are also edible in a form of soup ingredient mixed with chopped shoots of the same winged bean.

The mature winged bean seed which is the best source of oil as it has 71 percent compared to only 24 percent of soya beans could make a good substitute of meat and common beans in this respect.

Winged bean dry seeds could be consumed in two ways, boiled or roasted for 30 minutes. It is further advised that the seeds should be soaked in water for about eight hours to completely inactivate the trypsin inhibitor (a substance contained in the seeds which reduces the dietary effectiveness of protein during digestion process in the body), before being cooked.

The bean can apparently be roasted and be eaten just like groundnuts.

Apart from the seeds, leaves and shoots, the wonders of this legume is that its underneath has tubers of high protein contents which is 20 percent higher than any other tubers, available in Tanzania.

Both sweet and round potatoes have far below ten per cent protein content while the reputed yam has about seven per cent and the underdogs cassava has only three per cent of protein content.

These tubers which also have a superior content of vitamin "A" are eaten raw, like sweet potatoes, cooked like cassava or fried like chips, Professor Karel said.

According to the research, the winged bean is usually free of pest and serious diseases. Though young flowers and pods could in some ways be attacked by flowers and pods could in some ways be attacked by flower pests, caterpillars and bugs. At times leaves are also damaged by grasshoppers and spidermites.

Because of the higher oil content, it is hoped the beans will become a reliable source of edible oil for the local industries which often produce under capacity due to lack of oil seeds.

/13046

CSO: 3400/794

UGANDA

EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS REFLECT INTERNAL CONDITIONS

Impressions of Interior

London NEW AFRICAN in English Dec 85 pp 40, 41, 45

[Text] Two young British students, Simon Barry and Richard Allan set off on what they hoped would be an adventure-filled expedition to the Ruwenzori mountains in Uganda. They arrived some three weeks before the coup that toppled Milton Obote, then as the situation deteriorated, they went south to Malawi. When they returned to Uganda, Tito Okello was in charge. The two youngsters then moved to western Uganda where Yoweri Museveni's NRA was in control. This is their first-hand account of day to day life in turbulent Uganda.

AFTER months of careful preparation, we finally arrived at Jomo Kenyatta airport, Kenya, on June 19. We were looking forward to three months of climbing, insect collecting and boating along the Albert Nile in Uganda. Our expedition itself promised to be quite an adventure - but as events turned out, we had rather more excitement than we had bargained for.

We arrived by night train from Nairobi to the border crossing at Malaba. From here we travelled by *matatu* (taxi) to Tororo (Uganda) where we were to take a train to the capital, Kampala.

Several incidents during this journey gave us some idea of life in Uganda under Obote. The *matatu* journey was interrupted by several roadblocks, all manned by heavily armed soldiers. At each roadblock, the driver paid an average of US\$1,000 before we were allowed to proceed. Although the soldiers were officially supposed to be on the lookout for rebel passengers trying to enter Uganda, the cursory inspection left us in no doubt that the whole thing was merely a fund-raising exercise for the soldiers themselves.

Then, while we were waiting for the train at Tororo station, an over-zealous UPC

Youth party member decided to "arrest" us because we looked "suspicious" and took us to the police station.

Death in the night

The duty constable, much to our relief, dismissed the man and severely warned him not to interfere with things that did not concern him. He apologised to us and allowed us to camp in the station grounds while we were waiting for our train. Throughout our time in Uganda, we were impressed by the polite, considerate attitude of the police - in sharp contrast to that of the army.

When we arrived in Kampala, it was night time and we were forced to spend the night sleeping uncomfortably close to an overflowing toilet at the railway station. The station police had advised us not to venture out into the night without an escort. They themselves refused to escort us as they were not armed. They told us it was inviting death to walk about the city at night without being fully armed.

Kampala looked a derelict city with nothing, except for a few boxes of Omo washing powder, in the shops. Many

buildings had collapsed and there were signs of neglect and abandon everywhere.

We spent the next night at Makerere University. This used to be one of the best universities in Africa and also perhaps, the most beautifully laid out. Now there was no electricity, no sanitation, no running water and the whole complex appeared to be crumbling and decaying. Our hosts, despite their own problems, were apologetic for the bad conditions and made every effort to make us comfortable. We felt very grateful for their concern and again felt a profound sense of sorrow that this once beautiful country with its highly civilised, hospitable people should be reduced to such straits.

We realised that the political situation in the country was rapidly declining and decided to press on without further delay. It was too dangerous at this point to go to western Uganda because of rebel activity and so we took a train and headed for Mt. Elgon in the east.

The train journeys were probably the most interesting we had in Uganda. Apart from the surprisingly green countryside we passed through and the colourful markets and the often spectacular scenery, we enjoyed stimulating and frank conversations with our fellow passengers.

The greatest tragedy of Uganda must surely be that its people are the most well educated, friendly and sociable in Africa. In the safety of the train compartment, they were happy to talk about the political situation in the country. We were totally bemused at the depth of their analysis.

The climb up Mt. Elgon itself was rather hard work but there were several moments of excitement when we ran into hunters. Some panga-toting smugglers followed us for quite a while before disappearing into the bush.

Political events in Uganda had moved rather rapidly and our trip to the Ruwenzoris was definitely off for the time being. In addition, the expedition boat, which had previously been used by Sir Ranolph Twisleton-Fiennes on the Arctic leg of his Transglobe expedition, had still not arrived from Nairobi. We decided to leave Uganda and head south until the situation had stabilised. The last night was spent sleeping at the house of the British Vice-Consul in Kampala. Gunfire at night was not an uncommon occurrence; on this occasion there was a burst of rifle-fire hardly 100 yards from where we slept.

Using buses and lorries and hitch-hiking part of the way, we travelled through

Rwanda, Tanzania, and Zambia to Malawi. At Cape Mclear on the southern end of Lake Malawi, there was an unfortunate incident when we saw a young man being beaten up and dragged off to the local chief and from there to the local police station. He had apparently given vent to his dissatisfaction with Kamuzu Banda's rule and so was roughly trussed up and bundled off to the inevitable detention. Apart from this incident, we were struck by the relative prosperity of the peasants in Malawi.

On our way back to Uganda, we stopped at Lusaka, Zambia. Here we met two people of bizarrely differing personalities. One was a Swapo representative whom we immediately liked for his open character, and the other was the curious Michael Smidt. Smidt, a South African, built along fairly familiar Afrikaaner lines, is now resident in Texas, USA. He was in Zambia, so he said, to "rescue" his brother who had apparently defected from the South African army and had been arrested in Zambia for possessing a false West German passport.

Smidt told us he had recently established an assembly plant for his company, Rhodes Electronics, in Johannesburg to manufacture electronic stun-guns under licence from the American designers. The stun-guns, which operate on a principle similar to that employed for shock-therapy in mental institutions but with a greatly stepped up voltage, have the ability to incapacitate victims.

Smidt's stun-gun

This product has already been used by American police for the arrest of violent suspects but allegations have recently appeared in the American Press concerning its use as a torture instrument. Smidt proudly boasted about his product's capabilities and of orders already received from the South African Security forces. We left Mr. Smidt to gloat over his horrific product.

When we returned from a quick visit to Zimbabwe and the Victoria Falls, we were delighted to find a telegram from Kampala stating that the political situation was now stable enough for us to return and proceed with our expedition.

There was one amusing incident before we left Zambia. We were suddenly arrested, barely two hours before our bus was due to leave, because we had innocently camped next door to the Soviet Embassy! After a lengthy interview at the local police station, we were released and allowed to proceed.

This was some two weeks after the coup that toppled Obote. We returned to Kampala via Nairobi. Superficially, Uganda was little changed. There was a slight easing of tension. We encountered only one road block on the way to the city and this was manned by the police. However on the outskirts of Kampala, there was another road block, with soldiers in charge. One apologised to us for the inconvenience but nevertheless slipped around to the other side of the cab to collect his "toll".

There was a lot of talk in the Press, especially in *The Star*, about a new beginning, but some of our fellow passengers seemed sceptical.

We had anticipated a Kampala ravaged by looting and destruction, but this was not visibly so. There was very little noticeable difference from before. Apparently, dead bodies and other wreckage had been cleared off within a week of the take-over. The shops were once again stocked with their solitary packets of Omo.

We learnt that the west of the country, home of the Ruwenzori mountains which were our main goal, was relatively quiet. Later that day we asked the British High Commissioner, himself a keen mountaineer, whether it was safe to go west. He didn't exactly say no and this was good enough for us. Our boat meanwhile had arrived in Uganda and was waiting for us in a warehouse at Entebbe.

North Koreans leave

At Entebbe, on the shores of Lake Victoria, we were very fortunate in finding rare maps and charts into the area, utterly dismayed to discover that the boat had been looted by the victorious Acholi soldiers. The officer in charge at the warehouse was apologetic and helpful but he could do very little else.

On the same day, about 1,000 North Korean troops that had been "training" Obote's army left for home, ludicrously sporting dark glasses. There was a large contingent of Acholi troops guarding the railway station, the bank and the post office but for all the military activity, the night was quieter and we looked forward to a good climb in the Ruwenzoris. We took the night train to Kasese.

As luck would have it, we arrived at Kasese a matter of hours after Yoweri Museveni's rebel army, the NRA, had disarmed the local garrison. Our immediate

impression upon entering Kasese was one of restraint and discipline on the part of the NRA guerrillas. There had been no shooting or any physical abuse inflicted upon the people or their property.

This may well have been due to the fact that many of the NRA are native to the area, having joined Yoweri Museveni upon his arrival in the west. Yet, an equal or greater number are Baganda and this must bode well for the inhabitants of Kampala if and when the NRA enter the capital.

While Kasese was generally quiet, with life continuing as normal, one incident aroused quite a lot of excitement. As we were walking past newly stationed NRA guards, some, heavily armed (rocket launchers, grenades, etc. all "liberated" from the Kasese armoury) in commandeered school buses, a Landrover came down the main road followed by about 50 cheering and chanting locals. The occupants of the landrover included UPC youth wingers being taken to the NRA officers mess for questioning. Richard jokingly drew his finger across his throat and asked the locals the man's fate. They were adamant that the men would receive a fair trial and then possibly be imprisoned.

As the local people went about their business, apparently undisturbed by the sudden change in control, the NRA guerrillas milled about with their captured weapons and munitions. Nearly all had three or four fully loaded magazine clips taped to their rifles, as well as an ample supply of grenades.

All the police and government soldiers (UNLA) had been disarmed earlier that morning - hence the abundant firearms and ammunition displayed by the NRA. The government troops had been given the opportunity of joining Museveni and this a number had obviously chosen to do because we saw many of them moving about in town in full uniform. We even saw some government troops still armed - they were guarding a chain-gang on the Kasese-Fort Portal road.

If previously the NRA had been restricted to only highly mobile guerrilla warfare through lack of ammunition, their successes of early September had surely provided them with sufficient ammunition to launch a successful all-out offensive. Transport problems, in this area of Uganda at least, also seemed to have been solved with the commandeering of numerous landrovers, lorries, buses and trucks. NRA duty officers seemed to take particular delight in

patrolling on bright red *moto* bikes.

Our overall impression, as we headed for the mountains, of Kasese under the NRA, was not so much that of a town liberated from oppression but rather a long overdue return to normality. It is this broad based support among the Ugandans we met that makes Museveni potentially so powerful and shows him to have previously been so underestimated by the international media.

We returned from the mountains on September 1 to find a changed political climate. The rail between Kampala and Kasese had been cut a few days previously in an attempt to isolate the NRA. The NRA had placed roadblocks around the Kasese, Fort Portal areas as a result of the tension.

Air of panic

We moved north to Fort Portal hoping to find a way east through Mbarara to Kampala. There was a heavy military presence in Fort Portal and we were told there were no buses to Kampala since the NRA had commandeered all vehicles. Luckily we managed to contact a very helpful member of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees who put us in touch with the British Embassy in Kampala. We overheard a conversation with an official in Mbarara who said there was an air of panic in the town with

residents, fearing a clash between NRA and UNLA troops, fleeing into the bush.

In Fort Portal the mood of the NRA seemed little improved by the change of government. "How can the country be run by a man who can hardly sign his name?" we were asked in reference to Gen. Okello. Unlike the UNLA, the NRA guerrillas seemed to be at ease with the population. We never once saw a member of the NRA demanding a bribe or threatening anyone. The NRA were seen as a disciplined, protective army.

The general public had been outraged by the release and rearming of ex-Idi Amin soldiers and what the United Nations called "Sudanese troops" (although we believe these were simply Madi, West Nile tribesmen). This move, presumably an attempt by the new government to give a show of military superiority to the NRA and force its amalgamation in the military council, had backfired badly, unleashing a wave of anti-government public feeling. This may have been an important factor in the defection of the FEDEMU guerrilla group to the NRA.

Eventually, we left the NRA side and crossed over to UNLA controlled areas where, without further mishap, we got a bus to Kampala. All along the route we found heavy military presence and in Kampala itself, we saw an anti-aircraft gun positioned on a roundabout. This was the last impression we had of Uganda as we left that deeply troubled but beautiful country. ■

Interview with Museveni

London NEW AFRICAN in English July 85 pp 14-17

[Text] After four years of fighting in Uganda, the anti-government guerrillas of the National Resistance Army (NRA) are now a formidable force. Earlier this year camerawoman Alison Porteous and reporter Tim Cooper were sent to Uganda to bring back the first television report of this little-known war. There they become the first journalists in recent times to interview the guerrilla leader Yoweri Museveni.

Before we could join the NRA guerrillas we had to travel to Kampala. As an accredited camera team this is quite a difficult task, so we travelled as ordinary tourists; tourist visas are more readily available than are visas for journalists in Uganda. Having got our passports stamped at the border we continued overland along the main road to Kampala. The road is in an appalling state, a mixture of broken tarmac and pot-holed dirt tract. A few bumpy hours later we arrived in the capital.

Kampala looked exactly as though it had been the scene of a major battle some hours before. The roads were even worse than the main road into the capital, most of the buildings had broken windows and looked as though they were waiting to be pulled down and piles of garbage littered the roadside.

We know that we would have a few days to wait before going into the bush, and so continued to pose as tourists. We stayed with some Europeans on Makindie hill. As they had no idea of who we really were they talked freely. We asked them of the guerrilla war that was being fought near to Kampala, they told us that as far as they knew the guerrillas were at least 40 miles away and were losing. They said that the close sound of gunfire came from the army "on the rampage as usual". But during our stay in the capital we were told "things are quiet at the moment".

Journey on foot

After a few days of waiting, the NRA contacted us; we were told to bring as little kit as possible and meet our contact at an arranged time and place.

We turned up as bid and were hustled into the back of a waiting taxi. After a short drive we reached the outskirts of Kampala, where, instead of taking a major road, we took a turning up a dirt track. Several miles later the car stopped. We looked out expecting to see something. There was nothing, just thick bush and a few cultivated fields. We were told to get out of the car.

From here we would be on foot.

With our companion in the lead we scrambled down a bush-covered hillside for a few hundred yards where we discovered some small huts. Because the area was populated we would have to wait until after dark before we could go any further. We were told that we could rest for a while and in the meantime we would be given something to eat. After our meal a small group of guerrillas turned up.

This first meeting with the guerrillas mirrored what we were to see and hear time and time again during the following five weeks in the bush. Highly motivated, the men told us that they were winning the war. They pointed out that regardless of what the government said they were not 40 miles from the capital, indeed were we not with them less than 10 miles from the centre of Kampala?

We talked until after midnight, when our companion from Kampala told us to prepare ourselves; it was time to set-off into the bush. In pitch darkness we started out on what was to be a 10-hour march.

Within a few hundred metres we found ourselves walking through a swamp. Although rivers are marked on the map of the area, there are in practice very few free-flowing water courses. Mostly, rivers are covered over by islands of tangled

papyrus. The art of walking through one of these swamps is to hop from root to root. A missed footing can result in slipping into the foul-smelling mud and being drenched up to the waist. The guerrillas are quite at home in the swamps but to us and to other strangers, like Obote's troops, they are murder.

A couple of hours after dawn we reached the camp we had been making for, the home of what the NRA call the Task Force. We had been expecting a warm welcome; however the guards on the camp defences had different ideas. Before we were allowed to proceed through the defences our bags were searched and our identities established.

Concealed camp

In common with all the NRA camps that

we visited it was virtually undetectable from any distance. The camp defences were strung out at intervals and were about as well sited as was possible. The NRA Army Commander was later to say that no NRA camp had ever been overrun by the government forces, a claim that, having seen the defences, I found no difficulty in believing.

Our first meal in the bush consisted of matoke (bananas) and cassava, washed down with coffee, produced by the guerrillas. Both the matoke and cassava, along with various root plants form the staple diet of the guerrillas. As the area is virtually empty of people, no food is cultivated, and crops growing wild are easily foraged by the rebels. As the diet has little nutritional value, huge quantities have to be consumed, each fighter often eating more than two kilos at one sitting. Most of the men looked reasonably healthy on this somewhat boring diet, although there were many complaints about the lack of meat or dairy produce.

Health problems are the least of the guerrillas' worries. Although they only have a few properly trained doctors they do have a number of medical assistants, who are quite capable of dealing with the minor ailments. We were told that the NRA sustain relatively few casualties in combat, but if any of them do require more skilled attention then they are sent to the NRA field hospital.

After a days' rest we were told that we would move on towards the Mobile Brigade of the NRA. We were told that Museveni, the leader, had his HQ based there for the time being and that we would be with him the next day. With our numerous escorts we set-off once again after dark.

The following morning, we arrived at the camp. We were told that we were only a few miles from Bombo, a major base for the UNLA; my own map reading confirmed this.

At the camp, I took the opportunity to look at the weapons the guerrillas were using. The most prolific personal weapon was the ubiquitous Kalashnikov assault rifle, supplemented by a variety of other weapons from ageing Lee-Enfield rifles through to Israeli made Uzi sub-machine guns. Most of the officers carried pistols of one sort or another and many of the men had Chinese-manufactured stick grenades.

Along with a number of RPG 7s, the heaviest weapons were an assortment of light and medium machine guns. We later saw a few mortars, and the guerrillas told us that they had a few artillery pieces and some heavy machine guns hidden away.

The NRA claim that all the weapons it has have been captured from the UNLA. I certainly saw nothing to contradict that.

That evening we had our first meeting with Yoweri Museveni. About 40-years-old he is a stocky, balding man with a gentle

face that is always quick to break into a smile. A Munyankole from the west of the country, he welcomed us to his camp.

He told us about the war that the NRA fighting in the bush, he described it as a highly mobile guerrilla war. Asked about the alleged human rights violations he said that all the international reports so far had understated the case, and that in the coming days we would be able to see for ourselves.

Over the next few days we were taken to see the surrounding countryside. The most striking feature was the total lack of people. The area had been one of Uganda's most populous; villages, schools and farm buildings were all still there, mostly broken down, their roofs and windows stripped off. The huge coffee plantations that had made this area so prosperous were overgrown, the coffee was rotting on the trees, fields of matoke plants were collapsing under the weight of ripe fruits.

The few peasants that we met were staying only because they had nowhere else to go. Or they had escaped from government detention camps.

The life that the remaining peasants are leading is a sort of twilight existence. By day they hide deep in the bush or on islands in the swamps, by night, like nocturnal animals, they come out to forage for food.

The stories they tell are horrifying. Harriet Namata, 31, said that she had been held in a detention camp in 1981 with her six-month-old child. She managed to run away from the camp. Her baby was killed in the process. When she returned home to her village in the Triangle she found that her parents and nine others had been killed when the village was shelled by the UNLA. She now lives in a makeshift hut with a group of other Baganda.

Father Leo Seguya tells his story in more detail. A Catholic priest, he shared his parish, Kijaguzo, in the centre of the triangle, with another two priests. Now Father Seguya is the only one left. He says that the UNLA's behaviour towards the people of the Triangle got steadily worse from 1981, as the NRA became more effective. He says that there were mass killings from 1982 onwards. "In 1980", he told me, "There were about 40,000 people in the parish." He went on to say that there are now less than 5,000 in the area. Ten thousand, he claims, were murdered by government forces, and another 5,000 died from diseases and hunger whilst they were hiding in the bush or trying to leave the Triangle.

Father Seguya was himself subject to what he claims was UNLA brutality. He alleges that on January 16 1982 a UNLA unit came to the mission. The troops had been operating in the area and many civilians had taken refuge there. Among the civilians was a local headmaster. "They shot the headmaster and another teacher. Those died instantly." The following day, the soldiers came back. This time the soldiers took a houseboy and a mission worker. "We tried to explain that those were our people. So the soldiers beat the parish priest, and so we had to keep quite", Father Seguya told me. He went on to say that the two were killed and, "we realized that they (the soldiers) were coming daily, taking two. We are a bit scared. The next day, it was Sunday, we had to escape to the next mission." Father Seguya considers himself lucky to be alive.

Father Seguya said that as one of the few remaining priests-he now lives with the guerrillas-he is often called by people to witness the aftermath of killings and beatings and to offer what comfort he can.

Father Seguya believes that conditions now compare unfavourably to those under Amin. He says that Amin was selective and murdered only people who were a direct threat to him. "But," Father Seguya says, "here or wherever there is fighting against the guerrillas it is the citizens who are going to be massacred."

Perhaps as a consequence of the oppressive actions of the UNLA, recruitment into the NRA has flourished. When Museveni went into the bush in February 1981 he had 26 men with him. Although the NRA will not state their present number, reliable estimates now put it at up to 8,000 armed men. A majority of the new recruits are Bugandan, whilst most of the officers are from the west of the country. The NRA go to great pains to point out that they reject tribalism.

The NRA are equally adamant that they have cadres of supporters all over Uganda. They do admit that their support is greater in the south than in the north, and to prove the point they have carried out major attacks on UNLA bases throughout southern Uganda. However, NRA attacks are normally on a far smaller scale.

Ammunition shortage.

It seems that a major factor holding the NRA back from a wider-ranging and sustained offensive against the government is their lack of ammunition. Although they appear to have a plentiful supply of weapons they simply do not have enough ammunition. At the moment they are, for the most part, limited to actions which will be profitable in terms of ammunition. In practice, most of the time, this limits the NRA to ambushes.

The UNLA have so far managed to frustrate guerrilla efforts to capture large quantities of ammunition, by moving their supply dumps further and further away from the Triangle. So keen are the UNLA to deny the NRA ammunition and so apparently lacking in faith in their own soldiers, that they appear not to be issuing UNLA soldiers in the bush their correct quota of ammunition, lest it be captured.

Our chance to see the guerrillas in action came after four weeks in the bush. During that time we had moved camp about five times, the guerrillas never stay in one place for too long. They must, they say, keep the UNLA guessing, and the guerrillas, like irregular forces everywhere prefer to take on their enemy at a time and place of their own choosing.

This time they chose a location just 14 miles to the west of Kampala, on the main road to Hoima. The commander of the ambush, Pecos, himself a former UNLA soldier who had fought against Idi Amin in the late 1970s, told us that the plan was to ambush a UNLA convoy on the road. We took up our positions on the roadside a few minutes before dawn, and allowed several civilian vehicles to pass unmolested.

After about 45 minutes a car pulled up and after a few seconds drive off. Moments later firing started. Two UNLA soldiers had hitched a lift with a civilian; both fully armed, they were going to visit their families, having been granted leave from a nearby camp. The guerrillas fearing that their positions would be compromised, opened fire on them. Although the two soldiers fought back, they were hopelessly outnumbered by the 300 rebels, and within minutes lay dead on the roadside.

Pecos, later told us that he was not happy with the way the ambush turned out, but at least, he said, the guerrillas now had two more weapons, taken from the dead soldiers.

Highly politicised, the guerrillas seem, if anything, sad that they are fighting fellow Ugandans. The NRA consider political training to be just as important as military training. All the guerrillas we spoke to said they were fighting for freedom for the mass of Ugandans to determine the destiny of their own country.

Although the mass killings which caused so much alarm last year, seem to have stopped in the Triangle, this is because there are no people left to kill; peace in Uganda still seems a long way off.

Although the NRA are growing larger by the day, their lack of ammunition means that they cannot see a quick end to the war in the near future. The UNLA which have a number of problems, including the quality, indiscipline and low morale of its troops, are not capable of beating the rebels in the field.

President Obote has steadfastly refused to negotiate with the NRA, although Museveni has stated, "I can negotiate even with the devil." He is still waiting for his chance.

Museveni's Strategy

NEW AFRICAN: How would you describe the politics of the National Resistance Movement?

YOWERI MUSEVENI: The NRM is a nationalist organisation. It is nationalist in that it is fighting for the aims of the whole country and not for aims of a section of the country. Secondly, the NRM is a democratic movement, it is a movement which is fighting for democracy. So those two elements are the main elements in our programme.

NA: What changes would you initiate immediately, if you were to gain power?

YM: The immediate programmes of the movement when it comes to power must be connected with rehabilitation of the war ravaged areas, restoration of security of person and property, building of the national army so that instead of having factions, all these armed groups can be amalgamated. Those will be the immediate programmes, and of course laying a machinery for a free and democratic election immediately after we take power.

NA: If the NRM succeeded in overthrowing the present government, would you hold free and democratic elections open to all parties straight away or would there be some waiting period before you do so?

YM: The waiting period would only be for the purposes of preparing for the elections, because elections cannot be held in a vacuum. There are some things to be done first. First of all to restore security, secondly to set the machinery up for elections. Especially the constitution. For instance, we don't know which constitution we are working with; is it the 1962 constitution of independence; is it the one imposed by Obote in 1967? We don't know which constitution we are following.

NA: How long would the waiting period be?

YM: I wouldn't say it would be very long, maybe two years. Because this is enough to do some of these things in my opinion, but that would have to be discussed; that is just my personal opinion.

NA: So far President Obote has refused to hold talks with the NRM. If he were to change his mind would you be prepared to negotiate?

YM: We can negotiate with anybody, even with the devil, for the sake of Uganda. We are talking with all sorts of people. We talk with this man Botha of South Africa. Samora Machel has been talking to him; we talk to all sorts of people. If Obote wants to cheapen the cost of war by talking then we can talk to him. What matters is what we would talk about, I think that is more important, the content of the negotiations.

NA: Do you blame Obote specifically for the killing of the peasantry, or is President Obote not in control of the army?

YM: Why should he be in power if he is not controlling the army? He should resign then, that is very simple; you should not be responsible for what you do not control. If he resigned we would know that he was not responsible. But obviously Obote is the one responsible and, moreover, we have got evidence that he is the one who has been pushing some of his commanders that they should be resolute in suppressing the people; if they are resolute then the people will be cowed. There is also evidence to show that. We have reports from the [UNLA] commanders that have come from the barracks, who were last there, even hand-written letters from Obote to urge his commanders to go on.

NA: How would you describe the sort of war that the NRM is fighting, from a military point of view?

YM: It is a protracted people's war of the same type as were fought in some other countries; in China, for instance, and even other countries of the West like the United States itself. They were among the forerunners of this type of fighting; like George Washington, when he organised the American settlers to fight against the army of George III. The common characteristic is a popular cause backed initially by irregular forces and which are not as well armed as the establishment army. By using guerrilla tactics, eventually they build up enough strength to overwhelm the enemy. So this war is of the same category as those of Washington in America, or the war in Spain against Napoleon. When Napoleon invaded Europe there was a people's war of this type. There were other wars in Vietnam and Southern Africa.

NA: What stage in the war have you reached?

YM: We have reached the stage of mobile warfare, where we can employ relatively big units, brigade-strength units, battalion-strength units. But of course we still also use the old small scale tactics of company and section type of operations. But the dominant form of warfare now is mobile warfare. Sometimes we also fight positional warfare, but it is subsidiary.

NA: Are you receiving any sort of external support, supply of weapons or ammunition, for instance?

YM: No, we are not getting any supplies of weapons. If we were doing that this war would have been over long ago.

NA: You claim great popular support, but your military actions seem to be almost exclusively concentrated in the Luwero Triangle. Does this now show that your support is limited to this area?

YM: Spreading the war to the rest of the country has nothing to do with popularity. What do you need to spread the war to the whole country for? What we need is enough area to do our training in, to do our organisation in. We have got it. We have almost 1,000 square miles. Spreading the war to other parts of the country would mean disrupting the lives of ordinary people; if that can be avoided then it should be avoided.

NA: Do you believe you have capacity to win the war in the near future?

YM: Very much so, very much so. Even now we can kick Obote out of Kampala, but we would invite a lot of problems. We need more preparation so that if we kick Obote out of Kampala we are able to control the whole country.

NA: It has been said that you started this war because of a grudge against Milton Obote, how do you react to this?

YM: I have no personal grudge against Obote. We had to fight for the rights of the people of Uganda. If we had not started this war the people of Uganda would have been very much against us, because by virtue of our participation in the war against Idi Amin we had attracted the attention of the public and they thought that we could lead them to fight for their rights. We had no alternative. It was not our own choice really.

NA: What are your personal ambitions? Would you, for instance, like to become the president of Uganda?

YM: I am not fighting to be president of Uganda, and this business of president of Uganda is not a particularly high thing in my opinion.

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CSO: 3400/789

ZIMBABWE

MUGABE WARNS CORRUPT POLICEMEN

Harare THE HERALD in English 20 Dec 85 pp 1, 8

[Text] The Government will continue to deal ruthlessly with any corrupt elements in the uniformed forces and civil service regardless of the rank of those involved, the Prime Minister Cde Mugabe, warned yesterday.

He said this at a Press conference where he announced the dismissal of the former commissioner of police, Mr Wiridzayi Nguruve.

The Prime Minister said he wished to reiterate what he had stressed to officers of the police force and other security services that Zimbabwe needed a highly disciplined, loyal and professional force commanded by men and women of the highest ability, skill and impeccable integrity.

"Nothing less will do. A police force that is of mediocre ability and whose members' loyalty, integrity and sense of discipline are suspect is a luxury we cannot afford," he said.

"We shall therefore continue to deal ruthlessly with any misguided elements that may have found or may yet find, their way into the Zimbabwe Republic Police, or into any force for that matter, or the public service in general."

This, he said, would be done without regard to rank or other irrelevant considerations.

The police force had to be structured, manned and run in such a way it would remain true to its noble motto: Pro Lege, Pro Populo, Pro Patria (for the law, for the people, for the motherland).

On behalf of the Government, Cde Mugabe urged the new commissioner of police and all his colleagues to proceed accordingly and to resolve never to fail the country, the people and their freely elected Government.

However, indications were that corruption in the civil service was on the wane. On the auditor-general's report that had suggested otherwise, Cde Mugabe said:

"I think the comptroller and auditor-general's report created more alarm and sensationalism than is deserved by the Public Service.

"I think really there is now a downward trend in malpractices and cases of corruption. That is not to say that we have stamped out every case of corruption. There is no government that has not got its share of corruption.

"I suppose it's the level of corruption that worries us and which naturally makes us act, when we do discover that these cases have occurred, in a manner that is meant to demonstrate Government's own attitude to such corruption."

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CSO: 3400/783

ZIMBABWE

MORE SENIOR POLICEMEN TO BE RETIRED

Harare THE HERALD in English 20 Dec 85 p 8

[Text] Some senior police officers will be retired on pension because of irregular instructions they took from former commissioner of police Mr Wiridzayi Nguruve, the Prime Minister, Cde Mugabe, said yesterday.

He said apart from the three senior policemen who had been fired, former commissioner Wiridzayi Nguruve, and deputy commissioners Govati Mhora and Nesbert Madziwa, three others had been mentioned in the Justice Moodley report.

"There happen to be officers who were commanding units in certain areas or in charge of certain areas who were instructed by the former commissioner to render service to him.

"The commissioner wanted to transport his timber from the border (eastern border) and he instructed the assistant commissioner in that area to use Government transport for the purpose and the assistant commissioner consented instead of querying and refusing."

"In another case at Esigodini, he (Nguruve) asked yet another officer to purchase cattle for him during the period, and the officer consented then used Government transport to carry the cattle to the home of the commissioner.

"Here we were able to distinguish the principal, criminal offender from those who received instructions, and therefore to apply less severe treatment.

"But I think we will retire those ones as well. Some of them are due for pension; all we ask is that they retire on pension."

Cde Mugabe said Mr Nguruve's actions had had a detrimental effect on the country's integrity but not national security.

"There are no instances adduced where he was held suspect. Some members might have felt that here and there he must have acted as an agent, in or or two cases only, but that is not the finding of the commission. So he was not a security risk, from the evidence."

Police had started investigating the cases, Cde Mugabe said, "Police, I think, have started looking at evidence submitted to the commission and might want to carry out their own investigations.

"So, yes, they are working in that direction but I cannot say how far they have gone, but no arrests have been made to date."

Cde Mugabe said two of those dismissed had tried to resign before action was taken against them.

"Two of them tried to tender their resignations at the time they must have heard that the report was out and naturally the commission report had not been studied and we would not allow any resignations to take effect at that stage, so we did not sanction them," said Cde Mugabe.

There was suspicion Mr Nguruve may have used mandrax tablets to earn money and at one time he had taken personal charge allegedly to dispose of them, the Prime Minister said.

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CS0: 3400/783

ZIMBABWE

USSR BUYS BELGRAVIA HOUSE AS NEW TRADE MISSION CENTER

Harare THE FINANCIAL GAZETTE in English 13 Dec 85 p 3

[Text] A trade mission set up sometime ago by the embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in Harare is likely to soon be enlarged, following closer contacts recently between representatives of the two countries.

Recently the trade section of the USSR embassy bought a large property in the residential suburb of Belgravia, zoned as a diplomatic area, for \$220 000 as a centre for their trade mission activities and staff.

The USSR embassy is said to be planning extensive alterations to the property in order to modify it for both offices and residential accommodation.

The property, at 3 Deary Avenue, is a very large double-storey house with Dutch gables situated on an acre of land. It is near other diplomatic residences occupied by French, Greek, East German, Algerian, United Nations and other official representatives of various countries.

Among other amenities it has three large lounges, two dining-rooms and a very large swimming-pool set in an attractive leisure centre within the large grounds.

A spokesman for the USSR embassy this week confirmed the acquisition of the Deary Avenue property. Like most other embassies, he said, the USSR already had trade representatives in Harare as part of its diplomatic presence.

"We are not greatly enlarging our trade section. But later on we may bring an economic councillor here although it is too early to say," said the spokesman.

"Naturally, we hope that our trade and economic relations with Zimbabwe will develop further in the near future. We are interested in trade with Zimbabwe - let us wait and see."

The decision by the USSR to go ahead with buying the Deary Avenue property in Harare follows hard on the heels of the two-day visit to Moscow made last week by the Prime Minister, Mr Robert Mugabe, and other senior Zimbabwe government representatives.

During this visit a general agreement on cooperation between the two countries was signed involving economic and technical relations. It was the first formal and official visit paid to the USSR by Zimbabwe's Prime Minister.

31 January 1986

ZIMBABWE

JAPAN GIVES AID TO BUY CHEMICALS

Harare THE HERALD in English 28 Dec 85 p 6

[Text] Japan is to grant Zimbabwe aid worth \$1.7-million to be used in buying and transporting agricultural chemicals, according to notes exchanged by the two countries in Harare yesterday.

The notes were exchanged between the Japanese Ambassador, Mr Yoshifumi Ito, and the Secretary of Finance, Cde Elisha Mushayakarara.

Cde Mushayakarara said: "The assistance from Japan has and will go a long way in improving the level of our crop output and quality and will thus enable us to be self-sufficient in our food requirements."

He said since 1980, Zimbabwe had received about \$9.75 million from Japan for increased food production. The money had been used to buy fertiliser, crop chemicals, agricultural equipment and machinery. Cde Mushayakarara said Zimbabwe's agricultural policy was aimed at promoting food self-sufficiency on a self-sustaining basis to strengthen peasant and small-scale farmers.

"To achieve this goal, sufficient agricultural inputs such as crop chemicals and fertilisers are necessary. It is in this respect that the Government of Zimbabwe treasures your assistance."

He said the grant would also benefit other countries bordering Zimbabwe which were experiencing food shortfalls.

Mr Ito said agriculture was fundamental to the country's economy and he admired efforts being made by the Government in reconstructing and developing it. He said his country had so far given Zimbabwe grants worth \$51 million for various development projects.

—Japan is to give Mozambique \$4.15 million to buy fertiliser for use in the Limpopo River valley. Mr Ito and the Mozambican Charge d'Affaires, Cde Maximiano Maxlhaeia, yesterday in Harare exchanged notes concerning the grant to increase food production.

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CSO: 3400/822

ZIMBABWE

BILL TO ROOT OUT CORRUPTION PASSED

Harare THE HERALD in English 13 Dec 85 p 13

[Text] The Prevention of Corruption Bill went through its second reading, committee and third reading stages in the Senate without much debate yesterday.

In his second reading speech, the Minister of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs, Cde Eddison Zvobgo, said the Bill would help the Government root out corruption before it took a firm hold in the country.

He pointed out, however, that legislation itself could not completely eradicate corruption and the problem needed to be tackled on several fronts.

"Better accounting methods in both the public and private sectors will be needed, for without them theft and corruption will go undetected," he said.

He added that diligent and skilled investigation of offences would be required by the police and it "may be that the formation of a special anti-corruption squad should be considered, because corruption is difficult to detect and requires special methods of investigation".

Cde Zvobgo said although there has been some cases of corruption the country had "a clean administrative system", and corruption was not yet rife.

He said the Government was not prepared to wait for the country to be torn by corruption, adding that now was the time to come up with stringent legislation to deter those who intended involving themselves with corruption.

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CSO: 3400/782

ZIMBABWE

MINISTRY ORDERS ILLEGAL SETTLEMENTS IN EPWORTH TORN DOWN

Harare THE HERALD in English 13 Dec 85 p 5

[Text] Scores of illegal settlements in Epworth near Harare are being destroyed by their owners following an order from the Ministry of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development.

Demolition work started at the end of October but was stopped early November when it was said that residents could not find new homes before the rains started.

However, when The Herald visited the suburb on Wednesday it found staff destroying illegal homes. Letters to the occupants with a notice of intention to evict all tenants from the Ministry of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development state:

"Your occupation of the land . . . is illegal and you are ordered to remove all your personal belongings from the said land, demolish the building . . . from the date of service of this notice, failing which the buildings will be demolished by police without further notice."

A resident, Cde Wiresi Rimawu, said after receiving the letter he decided to destroy the five-roomed home he had built and save his asbestos sheets rather than have the police destroy them.

"Now that the rooms have been destroyed I am forced to sleep in the same room with my son's children and his wife. I cannot comment on the eviction but would appeal to the authorities to have houses allocated to those whose rooms are being destroyed."

Landlords said they were worried about the fate of their lodgers whose rooms had been destroyed.

No comment was available from the Ministry of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development.

Last year the director of physical planning in the ministry, Cde Jonathan Zamchiya, said it had been discovered when an aerial photograph was taken of

the suburb that some people had illegally settled there, causing overcrowding. Only those who built homes before the picture was taken could stay.

The Government plans to upgrade the area, putting in reticulated water, improving road networks and providing sanitation and community facilities. Houses are beng destroyed in areas needed for the improvements.

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CSO: 3400/782

ZIMBABWE

PEASANTS TO GET LARGE SHARE OF FARM FUND

Harare THE HERALD in English 13 Dec 85 p 13

[Text] About 40 percent of the \$16 million in the national farm irrigation fund has been reserved for communal farmers as part of the Government's efforts to achieve food self-sufficiency in the sector.

The acting Minister of Lands, Agriculture and Rural Resettlement, Cde Nathan Shamuyarira, told the Senate yesterday that efforts were being made to motivate communal and small-scale farmers to create group interest and identify potential projects.

He said farmers wishing to benefit from the fund had to form groups or co-operatives and apply to Agritex through the district administrator.

"The Agritex officer will then start to assess the feasibility of a potential scheme, basing his assessment on the ideas put forward by the potential participants themselves."

If a project was approved the Agricultural Finance Corporation would then grant the group a loan. The AFC was responsible for granting loans and accounting for the fund on behalf of the ministry.

Cde Shamuyarira said the fund was aimed at stimulating irrigation development and increasing the total area under winter wheat production while enhancing food self-sufficiency in communal and resettlement areas.

"There are therefore two aspects of the fund, namely the commercial group encompassing assistance for dams, canals and irrigation piping and the communal area group catering for in-field irrigation development only, that is materials and labour."

While commercial group loans were tied to winter production only, communal farmers were free to cultivate any kind of crop.

Cde Shamuyarira said communal farmers enjoyed certain advantages over their commercial counterparts as they were not responsible for the provision of irrigation water to the field-edge and their technical and commercial assessments were prepared by Government specialists free of charge.

He said the fund has already made an impressive start and from the applications received so far, an additional 5 000 ha would be available for wheat production next year. The additional land was equivalent to more than 25 000 tonnes of wheat.

Cde Shamuyarira also said the Government is opposed to the policy of pre-planting prices as this did not necessarily increase crop deliveries.

Responding to points raised during debate on a motion partly calling on the Government to address itself to the pressing issues in the agricultural sector, he said the Government preferred producer prices announced at the end of each growing season.

"A pre-planting price may influence plantings but it will not necessarily result in increases in crop deliveries which in the final analysis, is really what we seek to influence through the pricing system."

Cde Shamuyarira said the Government used the system of pre-planting prices in very exceptional circumstances.

The Ministry of Agriculture used the producer pricing policy as an incentive for increased production and as a means for compensating for the soaring input costs while encouraging correct crop combinations in each agro-ecological region.

He said the \$180 a tonne provided for the 1985/86 maize deliveries was an incentive price in view of the last three years of drought and increased input costs.

On input subsidies, Cde Shamuyarira said they had been applied and proved to be relatively ineffective and highly inequitable.

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CSO: 3400/782

ZIMBABWE

MINISTER SAYS YOUTHS MUST SPEARHEAD SOCIALIST DRIVE

Harare THE HERALD in English 14 Dec 85 p 1

[Text] The transfer of the nation's wealth and control of sources of raw materials to the people can only be effected by following a socialist path, the Minister of State (Defence) and secretary of Zanu (PF) Youth League, Cde Ernest Kadungure, said yesterday.

"It is to this end that the Youth League in Zimbabwe is at the forefront of the brigade movement which mobilises youths into co-operatives," he told the international youth conference in Harare in a speech read on his behalf by the league's secretary for administration, Cde John Madzina.

The party aimed at creating conditions conducive to youths' fullest development to enable them to inherit the reins of power and lead the country tomorrow.

"The league fully endorsed and supports the declaration of 1985 as the International Youth Year and the themes of participation, development and peace."

He also said youths must get involved in skills training, job creation, community service and the promotion of peace.

Cde Kadungure assured the conference of the league's support for the youth of Namibia and South Africa in their fight to attain freedom. Contacts with party wings of progressive countries were maintained while internally, provinces and districts worked closely to achieve unity and fight divisive tendencies.

Speaking at the same conference, the Pro Vice-Chancellor of the University of Zimbabwe, Cde Emmanuel Ngara, said students had an obligation to understand their role in the transition to socialism and play their full part in bringing about the desired change.

Cde Emmanuel Ngara said if students were to avoid developing into an anti-socialist elite class, they must realize that the ability to use one's hands and mind was required by all educated people in the socialist world.

Students in other socialist countries had engaged in community projects such as putting lights into homes of peasants and literacy campaigns.

ZIMBABWE

CHITAURO TOURS ARTILLERY REGIMENT

Harare THE HERALD in English 14 Dec 85 p 1

[Text] The Secretary for Defence, Cde James Chitauro, on Thursday toured the 1 Field Regiment Zimbabwe Artillery near Chakari and was shown the progress being made by army members there.

Members of the army at the camp about 30 km north of Chakari are undergoing a 15-month course on artillery, being conducted by 10 British Military Advisory Training Team members under the leadership of Lt Col Robin Miller.

Cde Chitauro was shown how the 122 mm gun with a firing range of 24 km was operated. He was briefed on the operations of the gun itself and duties assigned to each of the nine member crew.

From the 122 mm gun, he was shown the 107 mm rocket launcher with a firing range of 8 km. After a brief description of the launcher, members of the army demonstrated its operations by firing the rocket launchers.

After the 15 seconds, the rockets could be heard exploding as they landed. After the firing, the rocket launcher was dismantled and assembled again in less than five minutes. The last on display were the 122 mm howitzer gun with a firing range of 12,5 km.

Cde Chitauro toured the camp and was shown self-reliance projects by the commanding officer of the regiment, Lieutenant Colonel Herbert Chingono.

One of the training officers, Major Tobia Ngadzire, said the course covered training in administration, logistics, troop detachment, battle and all arms training.

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CSO: 3400/782

ZIMBABWE

SURVEY NOTES REAL GAIN IN STANDARD OF LIVING FOR CITIZENS

Harare THE HERALD in English 17 Dec 85 p 7

[Text] Zimbabweans received salary and wage increases that were above the inflation rate this year for the first time in four years, giving them a real gain in standard of living, according to a recent survey.

But unless inflation can be kept down next year it is likely that standards of living, especially for the poorer paid, will drop, said the survey conducted by the P-E Consulting group.

The survey, using data from 100 organisations employing more than 90 000 people, showed that between October 1 last year and October 1 this year salaries of lower-income urban families rose 8,6 percent. The cost of living rose in the same period by 5,6 percent.

In the previous year salaries had risen 8,6 percent as well, but the cost of living rose 12 percent.

But the group warns that this 5,6 percent rise in the cost of living was unnaturally low as few increases were permitted in the first half of the year and since then maize meal, fertiliser, sugar, bus fares, car licences, diesel fuel, cars and milk products have all risen in price, as have beer and cigarettes.

Two other sources of inflation - the budget deficit and the falling value of the Zimbabwean dollar against many currencies - could have a greater impact on inflation in the second half of this year than in the first half.

The average rate in the rise of the cost of living could reach 20 percent by the middle of next year. "Unless inflation is radically curbed, next year's increases will not safeguard real earnings. Present standards of living for all Zimbabweans, particularly the lower-income group, are certain to drop substantially." said a spokesman for the surveyors.

Most of the surveyed organisations were predicting wage rises of between 7,5 percent and 12,5 percent over the next year, lagging the expected inflation.

Another factor which has an effect on disposable income is the increase in direct and indirect taxation since 1980. This had risen from about 24 percent of total incomes to about 44 percent.

The highest increase, 9,9 percent, went to operations and management staff but they got just 4,7 percent the previous year.

Scientists, chemists, metallurgists and geologists received the second highest increase of 9.7 percent (although this was a sharp drop from the previous year's 14 percent), while the lowest increases, 6,7 percent, went to general administrative staff. Personnel staff got just 6.8 percent.

Managerial staff (excluding executive staff did less well than general staff, the survey found. The managerial increase averaged 8,1 percent and the general increase averaged 8,9 percent. Executive salaries rose 12,3 percent, with the cost of living for upper-income urban families rising 10,3 percent.

But the staff turnover has dropped considerably from 7 percent last year to 5 percent this year with the Government's legislation on retrenchment having the biggest effect. Last year 24 percent of turnover was because of retrenchment; this year the figure was just 2 percent.

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CSO: 3400/782

ZIMBABWE

TALKS ON ZAMBEZI WATERWAY

Harare THE HERALD in English 17 Dec 85 p 3

[Text] A multi-national waterway along the Zambezi is one of the 14 schemes being discussed at the environmental conference which started in the Egyptian capital, Cairo, yesterday.

The development of the Southern Africa multi-national waterway along the Zambezi is likely to make Zimbabwe a prime beneficiary.

The Zimbabwean delegation led by the Minister of Natural Resources and Tourism, Cde Victoria Chitepo, is among 53 other ministers of environment attending the three-day conference which is expected to come up with a programme of action to improve the quality of life among many Africans believed to have been lowered by the general degradation of their environment.

Ziana reports from Cairo that a meeting of environmental experts held in the Egyptian capital last week chose the Zambezi because of its great potential for irrigation, navigation and energy.

The development of the waterway would ensure equal distribution of its wealth between Angola, Boswana, Malawi, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

Zimbabwe would be required to contribute \$4,3 million to the proposed Cairo plan of action which demands that concerned governments take the initiative.

United Nations Secretary-General, Dr Javier Pere de Cuellar, yesterday called on African governments to co-operate and halt the decline in the continent's natural resources because of poor conservation.

He told the environmental conference that there was an urgent need to stop the continuing degradation of natural resources and to seek ways of gradual rehabilitation of the area.

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CSO: 3400/782

ZIMBABWE

DIRECTOR NOTES BEST VETERINARY SERVICES IN AFRICA

Harare THE HERALD in English 17 Dec 85 p 7

[Text] Zimbabwe has the best veterinary services in Africa, the director of veterinary services, Dr Jimmy Thomson, said yesterday.

Addressing 21 graduates who completed a two-year veterinary extension assistants' course at the training institute in Mazowe, Dr Thomson said Zimbabwe's unrivalled veterinary record had been proved by the fact that the country had managed to enter the European Economic Community beef market.

Zimbabwe had had to satisfy rigorous animal health tests set by the EEC.

Other African countries had joined the EEC beef market the easy way, since the stiff tests Zimbabwe faced had not been the requirement up to 1976, he said.

"When I attended an EEC meeting in Brussels recently, many EEC members said they had been greatly impressed by our veterinary standards.

Zimbabwe had been able to eliminate several animal diseases, including rinderpest in 1897, pleuro-pneumonia in 1906, glandeurs which affects horses in 1913 and east coast fever.

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CSO: 3400/782

ZIMBABWE

POSSIBLE GOLD MINE SITE BEING PROBED

Harare THE HERALD in English 19 Dec 85 p 5

[Text] The Zimbabwe Mining Development Corporation has a 36-man team in the bush 118 km west of Harare investigating a very promising site for a new gold mine to be developed and run by the corporation.

At Gadzema, north of Chegutu, the ZMDC is drilling and sinking both surface and underground boreholes where a horizon showing a gold value of 7 gm per tonne at the old Elvington Mine shows signs of about a million tonnes of gold ore reserves.

The man behind the geological survey and subsequent digging of trenches from where the encouraging values of gold have been encountered, Cde Charles Murahwi, seemed optimistic when The Herald visited the site with ZMDC's general manager and chief executive, Cde Michael Wakatama.

Cde Murahwi is the resident geologist of Elvington Mine which stopped gold production about 48 years ago. Trenches were dug about seven months ago "to give us a chance to drill wisely".

Cde Wakatama, who took The Herald on a conducted tour of the new mine on Tuesday, said the corporation had leased the mine from the previous owner in a tribute agreement for three years with an option to buy. A full feasibility study by experts from the corporation was expected to be completed by mid-1986, the time when the mine's expected revenue output would be determined.

At least 600 000 tonnes of gold ore are expected to be extracted from about 200 m of the ore strikes down to a depth of 90 m. In all, about 1 million tonnes would be extracted when five levels of the ore body were mined. Cde Wakatama said the mining would be going along longitudinal sections.

About 90 percent of the ore would be obtained by very simple methods. To date six underground boreholes have been sunk down to the third level (about 90 m underground) and another four surface boreholes to the first level of about 30 m.

It was hoped that the mine would have nine more surface and perhaps five more underground boreholes, said Cde Wakatama. Nickel deposits were also found on the site of one of the surface boreholes.

Since January this year the Mining Promotion Corporation, a subsidiary of the ZMDC, geologists have been engaged in exploration programmes on six blocks of gold claims covering the Elvington, Kaltranic and Lone Star mines in the Chegutu area.

Cde Wakatama said an extensive trenching programme which was completed about mid-year outlined a series of iron formation of up to 12 m in width and 750 m long within the claims area. Two of the horizons had showed gold values of from 2 g to 7 g a tonne over the length.

A surface drilling programme to confirm the results started late in September. Two drill holes have been completed to intersect ore at the first level horizon. Encouraging widths and values had been encountered and seven more drill holes were planned. Diamond drilling to test mineralisation beneath level three would get under way next year, said Cde Wakatama.

Feasibility studies were also being carried out at Tandawe in the Chiredzi district, the Lower Save and in the Mudzi district.

ZMDC bought mining assets from the Messina Company last year for \$5,5 million.

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CSO: 3400/782

ZIMBABWE

VALUE OF MINERAL PRODUCTION PROJECTED TO INCREASE 10 PERCENT

Harare THE HERALD in English 23 Dec 85 p 1

[Article by Tim Chigodo]

[Text] The value of non-gold mineral production this year is expected to be more than \$600 million, the Minister of Mines, Cde Richard Hove, has said.

He told The Herald that the value of mineral production was projected to increase by 10 percent. "It was \$546 million in 1984."

The \$560 million earned by the Minerals Marketing Corporation for the year ended June 30, 1985 was in foreign currency. "Remember this does not include the major mineral--gold--which is marketed by the Reserve Bank whose value for 1984 was \$214 million."

The minister said mineral production was expected to increase during the 1986-1990 economic plan period. The private sector had indicated that it expected to maintain present levels of production.

"The public sector, if all goes well with future national budgets, will be bringing in new operations, to add to the private sector volumes," Cde Hove said.

About 40 different minerals were being produced in Zimbabwe at the moment. They include about seven major minerals which account for over 90 percent of the country's mineral output in value and others produced at a smaller scale.

The minerals and mineral products were in the form of refined products including electrolytic nickel and copper, ferrochrome, carbon steel billets and blooms, coal and coke, tin, gold bullion, phosphate fertilisers and blended asbestos fibre.

The next stage in the upgrading of the minerals and mineral products would be the production of stainless steel, chrome and iron products, copper pipes and sheets, spun asbestos fibre and refined gold, tin plate, fertilisers, chemicals, and plastics from coal.

The Ministry of Mines had completed a study on the possibility of refining Zimbabwe's gold bullion and this was now being studied. "The main constraint

on the industrial sector to industrialise using minerals and mineral products from this country, has been the lack of capital and know-how," the minister said.

Performance

The performance of the industry had been encouraging. "Production figures indicate we have been able to maintain production, with value of production 16 percent above last year in September," Cde Hove said.

The level of prospecting by the private sector had declined since the recession. However, the public sector had increased its level of prospecting.

The Geological Survey Department was involved in a number of joint exploration projects across the country. A huge airborne geophysical survey had been completed and follow-up operations were being undertaken. It was hoped that some of the findings would interest the private sector to consider taking them up to production stage.

The Zimbabwe Mining and Development Corporation had been undertaking mineral exploration in a number of areas. "This indicates that although the private sector had reduced the level of mineral exploration, the public sector is doing the opposite. As more funds become available from the state, we look forward to further expansion and exploration," the minister said.

The Government continued to assist small miners with technical assistance and encourage the formation of co-operatives. There were now 23 registered co-operatives mining mostly gold and chrome ore.

Some of the co-operatives were earning above the national minimum wage for each member and the rest were progressively approaching the national minimum wage level.

The output from the chrome co-operatives was approaching an annual turnover of \$1 million. The Zimbabwe Mining and Development Corporation continued to assist the co-operatives with technical advice and helped in managing their financial affairs.

/9274

CSO: 3400/822

ZIMBABWE

HARARE TO ACT ON RSA SCHOOLING

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 3 Jan 86 p 6

[Text] Harare--The Zimbabwe Government is to clamp down on white parents in the border town of Beitbridge who send their children to school across the border in Messina every day.

The Deputy Education Minister, Senator Joseph Culverwell, accused the parents of having a "White Rhodie" mentality and said the practice would be stopped.

"If our schools are not good enough for them they should go and live in South Africa," he said. He added that, in a subtle way, they would be persuaded to do so.

He said investigations were in progress to find out how payment was made for schooling of the children in South Africa.

The storm blew up after a Zimbabwe television crew in Beitbridge filmed children being driven across the border and back.

Afrikaans

Most of the parents refused to comment on the situation but one mother said she sent her children to school in South Africa because there was a great demand for places in Zimbabwe schools and because in Messina they would learn Afrikaans, which might help them find jobs when they finished school.

Mr Culverwell told television viewers this week that in the present climate there was even the possibility that people crossing the border every day could also be spying for South Africa.

/9274

CSO: 3400/822

ZIMBABWE

NKALA SPEAKS ON IMPORTANCE OF UNITY BETWEEN ZANU-PF, ZAPU

Harare PRIZE AFRICA in English Dec 85 pp 6-7

[Report on Interview with Enos Nkala, Home Affairs Minister by Saul Ndlovu;
date and place not given]

[Text] The Ndebeles had better realise that national political unity in Zimbabwe would benefit them much more than any other tribe, and that they have no better course to follow than to enter into unity with ZANU-PF within the framework of an acceptable consensus inside ZANU-PF.

They must accept the simple fact that they are only 20% of the country's population, and, as such, cannot politically or militarily impose themselves on the majority 80%.

These were the views of Zimbabwe's Home Affairs Minister and ZANU-PF Politburo member, Mr Enos Nkala, during an in-depth interview with PRIZE-AFRICA at his Bulawayo home recently.

Asked to explain how unity between the Zimbabwe African National Union partriotic Front (ZANU-PF) and the Patriotic Front-Zimbabwe African People's Union (PF-ZAPU) would benefit the country, Mr Nkala stated: "The question of unity in our country is extremely important because in any situation where there is a dispute, it is necessary to invite the people concerned to take part in discussion to solve the dispute, to participate in measures to quieten the disturbed waters.

"My view is that for Zimbabwe to be stable, we need a consensus within an acceptable framework of a political agreement. It was once in Kenya, Zambia and elsewhere where there are many more tribal groups than here. In all those countries, people agreed to work within a political framework based on a consensus. They have established peace, a type of peace imposed not by the army or police but voluntarily imposed and maintained by the people themselves. Tanzania is among countries with such national unity and peace."

On whether or not such an arrangement would not cause loss of tribal identity on the part of the Ndebeles, Mr Nkala observed: "No tribe has lost its identity or customs and traditions because of entering into political unity

with other tribes in the countries I've mentioned. Each tribe is still what it was customarily and traditionally before the unity agreement was made. They appreciate one another's customs and traditions and culture.

"I don't see what the people of Matabeleland would lose if they entered into a unity agreement with other tribes. Let me point out that I'll not talk about other tribes but the Ndebeles. We do, of course, have many tribes in Manicaland, but it is my view that it is the Ndebeles who feel that they'd lose their language, culture and traditions if they entered into political unity with other tribes. I, for one, am sure they they'd remain Ndebeles ad infinitum in spite of such unity. The Scottish people of Britain are still Scottish, the English have remained English, and the Welsh have also retained their own identity in the United Kingdom.

"The Ndebeles would benefit more by entering into unity with other tribes because they would no longer be branded 'dissidents', and when looking for work, they would be assessed on their own individual merits. When they travel throughout Zimbabwe they'd not be suspected of wishing to dominate other tribes."

Mr. Nkala went on to say that as he saw the situation, other tribes would like to work with Ndebeles, but "every time the Ndebeles move further away."

What's the reason for this?

"It's because of an attitude imposed on them by their leadership. The Ndebele leadership has imposed on the Ndebeles an attitude full of fear and suspicion of other tribes. They have been told that they'd lose their identity. That is not what we want in Zimbabwe. It's because of a feeling that Ndebeles are getting a raw deal that some misguided chaps are living in the bush, killing and maiming innocent people.

"They're not accepting the fact that we're a minority, and so to every tribe like the Ndau, the Manyika, the Karanga, the Zezuru, Koekore. But when they are put together, they become a majority. Ndebeles must regard themselves as a minority among other minorities. They cannot achieve dominance over other tribes, but should strive to work co-operatively with them through unity to achieve peace and stability."

Asked to comment on the emphasis put on the role of 'Mbuya' Nehanda during the 1896 armed struggle compared to the little that is said about the part played by particularly Ndebeles like Lobengula, Mtshani and others, Mr Nkala explained: "When people keep themselves outside a debating forum, they cannot influence decision. When we started the latest phase of the liberation struggle in the 1950's, the role of 'Mbuya' Nehanda in the 1896 armed struggle was not as well known. But following research into our history by some scholars, information came to light about the part she played. This was made known to our party ZANU-PF and was consequently propagated and is still being propagated.

"If we'd remained under one political roof, the situation could not have become as one-sided as it is today. This takes us back to what I have already said about the need for national political unity. If Ndebeles entered into unity with ZANU-PF, they could take part in debates and influence the situation from inside the house. They can't influence the situation and decisions by shouting or throwing stones or growling from outside. All they can do is to criticise from outside, and nobody listens because people have no time for such type of criticism. Especially if it comes from disgruntled individuals.

"I'm an Ndebele myself, founder-member of ZANU-PF, quite senior in the party. I have never had any restraints or constraints in my contributions to debates in ZANU-PF. The same would apply if other Ndebeles were in the party's decision-making bodies. We'd made our voice heard from inside the house just as other regions put their views on various matters, including development needs and projects, from inside the house. How can Matabeleland expect to do it otherwise? All that Ndebeles find themselves doing is to criticise, but they are not listened to because people don't like spending time listening to criticism.

"That's what happens to PF-ZAPU members when they look for employment. They're suspected of being sympathisers of dissidents or potential saboteurs. But people like Callistus Ndllovu (Minister of Industry and Technology) and Jacob Mudenda (Matebeleland North Provincial Governor) are listened to when they talk because they do so from inside the house. The sum total of what I'm saying is that Ndebeles would benefit more if they entered into political unity and pooled their resources within ZANU-PF. They have no other way except to do the same as the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) of the late Ronald Ngala, or the African National Congress (ANC) of the late Harry Nkumbula in Zambia. If they had tried to fight, they'd have lost the war from the very first day of the fighting. It'd be a case of the majority 80% unleashing their wrath on the minority 20% with most tragic sequence."

Would a one-party state not muzzle the views of those opposed to, say, socialism as advocated by ZANU-PF?

"Not all people in ZANU-PF are socialist, and because of that, debate is in full blast within ZANU-PF as to whether or not socialism is the best ideological path for Zimbabwe. What would happen if a one-party system was adopted is that non-socialist ZANU-PF members would team up with non-socialists from PF-ZAPU against the pro-socialists in both parties. There'd be an alignment of elements from both sides.

"As far as ZANU-PF is concerned, every member's views are taken seriously, and there is no suppression of anybody's views. ZANU-PF is a democratic organisation and every member's voice is treated equally. As far as I can remember, PF-ZAPU has always said it is socialist in outlook. So there is no ideological difference between the two."

Mr Nkala, who was recently reported in the daily Press saying every police officer who had served 25 or more years would be asked to retire, said that his statement on the matter had not been adequately explained.

"Firstly, let me explain that I made the statement after I'd asked the Police Commissioner to give statistics about service in the force. I had discovered that some officers had served for as long as 38 years but were still constables. I had also found out that some police officers were saying they were in the force purely for mercenary purposes and not because they were loyal to the State. Some of them had been saying that they were first paid by the Edgar Whitehead administration, then by the Smith regime, and then by the Muzorewa-Smith group, and now were getting paid by Cde Mugabe's Government. We cannot allow people with such mercenary motives to continue in our force because we'd like the force to be a reflection of a Zimbabwe we all would like to live in. The world sees us through the activities and attitude of our police force which must be absolutely loyal, uncorruptible and duty-conscious. Our force should comprise officers proud of their work and devoted to it rather than to money.

Asked if retiring officers with such long service would not deprive the force of very valuable experience, the Home Affairs Minister replied: "I grant that one does not go to school to gain experience, but I'd also like to point out that there are people who, because of their natural mental make-up, cannot go beyond acquiring experience. As we all know, it's one thing to acquire experience, and completely another to put it into effective use. It is such people, among others, we'd like to retire as I announced.

"We also have in our force people whose usefulness cannot be improved taking into account our present environment. We cannot retain them in our regular force. But all these may become useful elsewhere. Some of them may wish to use their pension benefits to buy and develop farms. Others may wish to serve the nation as reserve police, some may wish to join special police sections. Let me emphasise that before retiring members of the force, we'll look into every individual case to establish whether or not the member had the required qualities, and we'll retire only those we believe to be incompetent, that is, those with proven incompetence. We'll do this because the force is not a dumping ground for incompetent people, nor is it an old people's home.

"When we recruit in future, we'll be looking for people with patriotic devotion as well as political understanding. While an apolitical police force may be good for Britain, we don't believe that it is good for us in Zimbabwe. We believe that members of the force, being human, are as much of political animals as anybody else.

/13104

CSO: 3400/783

ZIMBABWE

ZANU(PF) MP FOR MAZOWE TO PROBE RSA'S PROPAGANDA WAR

Harare THE HERALD in English 23 Dec 85 p 7

[Article by Moeletsì Mbeki]

[Text] The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation has commissioned Zanu (PF) Member of Parliament for Mazowe, Cde Chen Chimutengwende, to undertake a study of the Pretoria regime's propaganda war on Africa.

Cde. Chimutengwende is heading a team of researchers who are based in different parts of Southern Africa and their job is to monitor what the South African Broadcasting Corporation's external broadcasting service, Radio RSA, is doing and what impact it is having in the different countries. The study aims to evaluate what independent countries are doing to counteract Pretoria's propaganda war as well as to evolve new strategies to strengthen their defences.

"South Africa's external broadcasting services are really used as an instrument of apartheid and as an instrument of South African foreign policy," Cde Chimutengwende explained during a recent interview.

'Objectives'

"Radio RSA is international in the sense that it reaches most parts of the world. It has objectives that it expects to achieve by broadcasting to the outside world. The purpose of the study is to find out how this is all done, how it is received and the reaction especially in independent African states."

A journalist by training, Cde Chimutengwende is no newcomer to the battle for hearts and minds that has raged ever since the National Party came to power in South Africa in 1948 with a policy of apartheid. As a student at Bradford University in England, he investigated the working of the opposition press in South Africa, a study that was eventually published in 1978 under the title: The Press and the Politics of Liberation in South Africa.

Cde Chimutengwende has also taught journalism at City University in London and at the University of Nairobi where he was head of the School of Journalism. For a while he was senior lecturer at the Zimbabwe Institute of Mass Communication in Harare.

Asked what the preliminary findings of his investigations were, Cde Chimutengwende said it is clear that many people in Southern Africa especially in Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland listen to Radio RSA. The main reason these people are drawn to the station is because of its music which is in the languages they understand and is "more sophisticated" than the music produced in their own countries. But once they listen to the music, they also find themselves listening to Radio RSA's other cultural programmes and to its political commentaries.

Another group in Africa that listens to Radio RSA are intellectuals, scholars, decisionmakers, who listen to the station, because it provides them with an up-to-date news service which they do not get from their national broadcasting stations.

Members of this group are not easily influenced, Cde Chimutengwende said, as they can "read between the lines". He stressed however that the mass media has its "limitations and possibilities", but does not have the "unlimited influence or power" that many people think it has.

"As a matter of fact, the media really only influences people if the content of that media is not in conflict with the basic aspirations of those people. When you look at the wars that have been fought recently from Vietnam to Zimbabwe, there was massive propaganda, but that propaganda in the final analysis came to nothing because it was propaganda promoting the wrong cause which was doomed to failure." Cde Chimutengwende said the Pretoria regime may actually be tripping itself, as what it considers to be positive will be seen by most Africans as negative.

"This helps us to understand even more what the South African system is all about; it exposes itself," he added.

The study of South Africa's external broadcasting services being undertaken by Cde Chimutengwende is part of a larger campaign by Unesco against apartheid and racism, a campaign that goes back to the founding of the organisation in 1946.

South Africa was the first country to withdraw from Unesco. In 1955 it pulled out of the UN body charging that Unesco was interfering in its internal affairs. That was even before Unesco had undertaken a specific investigation of racial discrimination in South Africa, Ms Carrie Marias, assistant programme specialist in Unesco's division of human rights and peace told The Herald during her visit to Harare recently, to participate in a conference of experts on people's rights.

Studies

Ms Marias explained that in the early 1950s Unesco did some studies on the causes and manifestations of racism worldwide. These studies found their way to the Johannesburg-based South African Institute of Race Relations which advertised them and distributed them inside South Africa. The Pretoria regime charged that this constituted interference in its internal affairs and withdrew its membership from the Paris-based UN body.

Unesco was not deterred by South Africa's withdrawal because it has since undertaken a wide range of studies, campaigns, as well as giving support to liberation movements opposing the Pretoria regime, Unesco also undertook research into discrimination in Portuguese colonies and in Rhodesia.

Mr Marias mentioned specifically two publications which looked at the situation in Zimbabwe during the period of settler domination. These were Effects of a Conquest Society on Education, Science, Culture and Information and Women and Racial Discrimination in Rhodesia. An older book of Unesco's that has had a large impact is the Effects of Apartheid on Education, Science, Culture and Information which was first published in 1967. This book was revised in the 1970s, Ms Marias said, and a third edition is presently being prepared.

Unesco's programme against apartheid does not just stop at books and publications, Ms Marias explained. "We are interested in reconstruction and we have programmes of co-operation with liberation movements recognised by the Organisation of African Unity.

"We are trying to train members of liberation movements to use social sciences, in order to analyse crucial social problems that their countries face now but with a view to their contribution to national reconstruction."

Unesco also contributes extensively to education centres run by the ANC and PAC in Tanzania and by Swapo at its refugee camps, she said.

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CSO: 3400/822

SOUTH AFRICA

CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT CHIEF VIEWS BLACK PARTICIPATION

MB082053 Johannesburg Television Service in Afrikaans 1800 GMT 8 Jan 86

[Interview with Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Chris Heunis by Kollie van Koller and Freek Robinson on the "Network" program, introduced by Ruda Landman--live]

[Text] [Landman] Black participation remains the burning issue in South African politics. Minister Chris Heunis who, as minister of constitutional development and planning, will have to deal with this pressing problem, is in our Cape Town studio. Kollie van Koller and Freek Robinson are ready to speak to him.

[Van Koller] Thank you, Ruda. Sir, welcome to Network, and I hope you have had a restful holiday and are now enthusiastic about the new year. Speaking of enthusiasm, how eager are you about the negotiation process with the blacks, and do you think there has been any progress?

[Heunis] Well, let me say immediately that I think there has been significant progress already. As regards the future, I do not share the general feeling of pessimism. I think that this country has various options for constitutional development, and I think all it needs is for reasonable people to be prepared to become involved in the processes.

[Robinson] Mr Heunis, you say you do not share the pessimism, so one has to accept that there is considerable confusion. So, perhaps now, at the start of the year, we should once again get from you clear views on the government's principles in the negotiation process.

[Heunis] Well, the basic point of departure on the part of the government regarding the future constitutional dispensation in the country rests on the view that the process of negotiation and reform has four constituent parts. The first relates to the realistic understanding of our society which will have to be served by a constitution. The second must refer to the dynamics of the process of reform. Third, I believe, there should be firm rules according to which the process has to take place. And fourth, the participation of various communities represents an important element in the whole process. Now, if I may refer to the points of departure on the government's side, very briefly, these are that we accept that we very sincerely want to work out a democratic system for the country. We also accept that this implies that

all communities have to participate in the process of negotiation for such a constitutional system and that they also have to participate in the decision-making within structures which will be evolved by negotiation. Third, we accept that there should be no domination by one group over others. And finally, we accept that discrimination in the grounds of color or race are not acceptable in South Africa.

[Van Koller] Sir, you insist that negotiation should not take place in public. But how will the man in the street know that negotiations are actually taking place, and with whom, and if any progress is being made?

[Heunis] With that kind of criticism, it seems to me that certain suppositions ought to exist, to which I would like to refer briefly. The first is the supposition that negotiations can take place in our society with a single result. In a society like ours, which is so deeply divided, where the issues are so complicated, there can be no talk of an overnight formula which would solve the total constitutional needs of our country. The second supposition, which I think is incorrect, is that unless we negotiate with leaders who belong to specific organizations or propagate specific views, then we are not negotiating with the real leaders. That view creates confusion. The fact is that the majority of leaders involved in the negotiation process have one or another chosen platform. By that, I am not suggesting that there are people who are identified as leaders who maintain a high public profile. Indeed, the government has repeatedly indicated that it is prepared to negotiate with these leaders too, on condition that they distance themselves from violence as a method.

[Robinson] But, Mr Heunis, are such negotiations taking place?

[Heunis] Of course. Much negotiation is taking place in this regard. Which brings me to the question on the visibility or invisibility of the negotiations. The fact is that we have many witnesses to the fact that negotiations do not necessarily have to take place in public. And for this reason, the judgment of the process of negotiation over the past few years--the results achieved--are of cardinal importance. Because I want to say that if we refer briefly to the negotiation process of the past few years, we will have clear evidence that even though the negotiations were secret, or perhaps precisely as a result of that, we have made considerable progress already in the constitutional field.

[Van Koller] Sir, what can be expected from parliament in 1986 on the further abolition of discrimination? For example, influx control and the Group Areas Act?

[Heunis] Let us look again at the very thing I have referred to, namely that during 1985, as a result of a long process of negotiation--for example, through the special cabinet committee which began its work in 1983--important announcements were made by the state president concerning a single divided South Africa with, within the borders of that country, the regional and local government systems. Second, an announcement was made about South African

citizenship. Third, announcements were made about the participation of black communities outside the national states, at the highest level, both executive and eventually legislative, with the qualification that this should take place within structures which are designed by South Africa itself. Then there was the announcement about the ownership rights of black communities in the specified urban areas. Also, there was the announcement about uniform identity documents. These announcements represent the results of negotiation. So the effectiveness of negotiation must be tested by the results. In terms of what I have said about the different phases, this means that, *inter alia*, this year in parliament we will have to undertake the actions to implement these announcements I have referred to.

[Robinson] What I really wanted to know is the political content of citizenship. That is the question you will have to address this year.

[Heunis] You will understand that we have to negotiate the content of the citizenship rights with leaders of the various parties. But then again, we have to remember that citizenship rights are not only expressed on one specific level of the system, but that it can take place at various levels. We have made considerable progress with giving substance to citizenship for black communities, their rights at local and regional levels. This year we will also have to look at the second tier of government and the place black communities will have to fill in that area, and the role they will have to play. In that area negotiations will have to take place. We will have to negotiate with leaders of black communities this year, too, about their participation in executive institutions of authority, also at the highest level. We will have to conduct negotiations regarding co-responsibility at these levels. It is not possible--indeed, it is not desirable--that I speculate at this stage about what form this would take because, by doing so, I would be prescribing from my side.

[Van Koller] Sir, thank you very much. Time is catching up with us. To wind up: It took the coloreds and Indians 10 years to become involved at the highest political level. Do you believe that the blacks will follow the same constitutional road?

[Heunis] I just want to point out that we are not concerned here with a magic formula for becoming involved. What we do need here is an understanding of the circumstances in the country, a basic faith in the government's approach regarding the negotiation process, an awareness of the successes already achieved, and the knowledge that this path of reform is the one that is successful, and not the path of violence.

[Robinson] Mr Heunis, let us face the big political question squarely, namely, power-sharing.

[Heunis] Yes?

[Robinson] Are we heading directly for that, and what are the details--at this stage--the particular facets of the kind of power-sharing that one can expect?

[Heunis] There are various facets, forms, and mechanisms for power-sharing. Regional councils represent power-sharing at local level. The participation of black leaders, communities, in a future provincial or second tier government--whatever the form might be--represents a process of power-sharing. The decision-making between ourselves and independent states on matters of common concern represent elements of power-sharing. Our negotiations with leaders of national states and decisions taken jointly there represent elements of power-sharing. Our discussions in a coordinating council on local administration and the acceptance that all legislation at that level of administration has to be approved by that council represents a process, an element, of power-sharing. So there is a wide spectrum of areas where this power-sharing is already happening.

[Van Koller] Sir, all this is very interesting. Can you just give us some perspective on white fears in this connection, you know, over power-sharing and the like. What is your view of white fears in all this?

[Heunis] I do not think the whites fear the process of power-sharing. I think there are great reservations--not only among whites--about the institutions we will have to establish for participation by all communities, to be able to share the decisionmaking power and yet maintain the values which form a part of our common goals, as set out in the constitution of our country. Let me emphasize that the concept, the principle, of joint decisionmaking is a principle that has been accepted. The structures within which this takes place are structures that have to be developed through process of negotiation which, naturally, cannot be a one-sided matter, but which will have to be the result of the inputs of the groups affected.

[Van Koller] Mr Heunis, thank you very much for your participation in this evening's Network. Good night. From my side, as well, good night and goodbye. Freek?

[Robinson] From me, good luck, Mr Heunis, and good night.

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CSO: 3400/853

SOUTH AFRICA

NUSAS SAYS ANC STATEMENT REFLECTS TOWNSHIPS MOOD

MB101527 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1513 GMT 10 Jan 86

[Text] Cape Town, 10 Jan (SAPA)--NUSAS [National Union of South African Students] today said the African National Congress announcement of a drastic escalation in its arms struggle was predictable in view of the current mood in South Africa's townships.

President of the National Union of South African Students, Mr Brendan Barry, issued a NUSAS statement from Cape Town today.

The NUSAS statement said:

"White South Africans should not respond with surprise to the ANC's announcement of a drastic escalation in their arms struggle against the South African Government..

"While no concerned citizen will greet the prospect of increased political violence with enthusiasm, it would be short-sighted not to recognise that the ANC's decision is reflective of the current mood in black townships throughout South Africa.

"The past 18 months have witnessed a series of pitched battles between township residents with legitimate grievances and armed security forces, resulting in the unnecessary deaths of more than 1,000 civilians.

"When P.W. Botha decided to send in the SADF (South African Defence Force) to occupy the black townships in September 1983, many South Africans pointed out that it was a provocative and dangerous statement of intent on the part of the government, in the face of legitimate grievances.

"It was suggested that the presence of troops in the townships was a further declaration of war against South Africa's peoples.

"In this context, the decision by the ANC to escalate its armed struggle was quite predictable.

"It remains clear that the source of violence in South Africa is the inequality and injustice of apartheid and the governments intransigence in the face of reasonable demands.

"Now more than ever, concerned white South Africans must face up to the challenge of dismantling apartheid as the only solution to the political crisis in our country."

31 January 1986

SOUTH AFRICA

KWANDEBELE RECEIVES GRANT FOR COMMERCIAL FARMING

MB081927 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1731 GMT 8 Jan 86

[Text] Johannesburg, 8 Jan (SAPA)--The Kwandebele government, which is to become independent later this year, announced today it had successfully negotiated a loan of R1,129 million from the Southern African Development Bank for the development of an agricultural training centre.

The total cost of development of the Gemsbokfontein nucleus agricultural project and training centre--to be developed near Vlaklaagte--will be R1.9 million, of which the Kwandebele government is contributing R800,000, the bank said in a statement to SAPA today.

Facilities for students, who must be established farmers or applicants selected for settlement, include a lecture hall and accommodation facilities for 24 students, a farm stall, and units for dairy beef, sheep, poultry, dry land crops and a nursery.

The aim of the project is to establish commercial farming in the homeland.

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CSO: 3400/853

SOUTH AFRICA

NATAL BLACK SCHOOLS ATTENDANCE 'SLIGHTLY UP'

MB091722 Umtata Capital Radio in English 1500 CMT 9 Jan 86

[Text] Attendance at Natal Schools under the control of the Department of Education and Training is slightly up today on yesterday's figures. That is according to the department's officials, but in Durban the situation is very different.

Carmel Rickard reports:

[Rickard] Attendance at the three Durban schools under the Department of Education and Training was extremely low today. Yesterday the department put the attendance at around 50 percent, but there were far fewer than 50 percent there today. Department officials were not available to comment on the fact that the schools were almost deserted and that by noon even the stayers were gone from one of the schools. Parents and pupils in Lamontville are planning to meet this evening to discuss the situation. Meanwhile, officials of the province's white schools are concerned that pupils will arrive a day too early, as the wrong date was apparently given in many pupils' reports. The correct date for the start of their school year is Wednesday, 15 January.

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CSO: 3400/853

SOUTH AFRICA

AZASM CONDEMNS DET DECISION ON FINAL EXAMS

MB131131 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0934 GMT 12 Jan 86

[Text] Johannesburg, 12 Jan (SAPA)--The Azanian Students' Movement [AZASM] condemns this week's decision by the Department of Education and Training [DET] to bring forward final internal examinations in Soweto and Alexandra high schools.

In a statement issued in Johannesburg today, an AZASM spokesman said it was "pure arrogance and gross insensitivity to black feeling" for the DET regional office to have scheduled the examinations to start tomorrow, a week earlier than originally planned. The examinations involve standards six, seven, eight, and nine.

"We urge black peoples in Soweto and Alexandra to boycott these examinations."

The statement said though AZASM wanted education, it was not prepared to have it at the expense of dignity.

"We are not pawns to be tossed around according to the whims and wishes of the white settler educational authorities," the statement added.

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CSO: 3400/853

SOUTH AFRICA

BRIEFS

BURSARIES FOR BLACKS AT UWC--Cape Town, 11 Jan (SAPA)--Black students could now apply for government bursaries for studies in teachers' training at the University of the Western Cape (UWC), a university spokesman said yesterday. The university had been informed about the latest move by the minister of cooperation, development and education, Dr Gerrit Viljoen. Dr Viljoen said the department had "in principle" agreed to consider bursary applications for full-time studies in teachers' training. A university spokesman welcomed the department's favourable response, saying that "the university had always been unhappy about the fact that blacks in particular were being penalised at UWC in terms of obtaining government bursaries." [Text] [Johannesburg SAPA in English 1239 GMT 11 Jan 86] /8309

CSO: 3400/853

SOUTH AFRICA

CATHOLICS URGED TO INTENSIFY CAMPAIGN FOR PEACE

MB060508 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2053 GMT 5 Jan 86

[Text] Cape Town, 5 Jan (SAPA)--The archbishop of Durban, the most reverent Denis Hurley, has called on Roman Catholics to intensify their campaign for peace in Southern Africa in the wake of the current "spiral of violence" in South Africa.

Archbishop Hurley, who is also president of the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference, said today in a pastoral letter to all parishes of the Durban Archdiocese peace would ultimately come only through political decisions in favour of justice and freedom for all.

He said the alternative was an intensification of the tragedies which were occurring in the country--cross-border raids between neighbouring countries, landmines and bombs which killed and maimed people in no way involved in violent confrontation.

He said violent deeds provoked violence in retaliation.

"This is a sad and tragic process and it seems clear that it will not stop unless there is a realistic move towards a better and more just sharing among all the people of our country in what it has to offer," Archbishop Hurley said.

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CSO: 3400/852

SOUTH AFRICA

LABOR PARTY'S HENDRICKSE DISCUSSES PRIORITIES

MB081805 Johannesburg Television Service in English 1800 GMT 7 Jan 86

[Interview with Labor Party leader Allan Hendrickse in Cape Town by SABC's Pat Rogers and Peter Sullivan, editor of the SATURDAY STAR, in Johannesburg and political reporter of the CAPE HERALD Anthony Doman in Cape Town on the Network Program; introduced by Michelle Alexander--live]

[Text] [Alexander] The year 1985 has been a stormy year for colored politics with the sensitive issue of the school boycott dominating news headlines. The Reverend Allan Hendrickse is in our Cape Town studio to discuss the current trends in colored politics, what lies ahead in 1986, and the future of the Labor Party [LP].

[Rogers] And in the studio to debate the matter with him are journalists Peter Sullivan, he is in Johannesburg, and Anthony Doman who is in Cape Town. Mr Hendrickse, if I could start off to clarify perhaps any confusion on the issue. When you speak, when you speak to us tonight, are you in fact speaking as a member of the government and for the government or do you speak with some form of opposition.

[Hendrickse] The point is that I am talking as leader of the Labor Party of South Africa, which I believe has this important contribution to make to the future of South Africa. So, I mean basically, I am leader of the Labor Party of South Africa.

[Rogers] Yes, but you are also a member of the national government cabinet, are you not?

[Hendrickse] It does not mean that because I am a member of the cabinet that I endorse decisions of the cabinet or the policy of the National Party [NP]. It is obvious that the policy in itself is being opposed by the party and myself and our participation in that particularly high echelon of government must be seen in terms of seeking for change.

[Rogers] Could I ask you then, perhaps, to put it in a slightly different way. Would you see yourself and your party as having more in common with the NP on the one hand or with, for instance, the Progressive Federal Party [PFP] on the other?

[Hendrickse] Well I would in a sense not see myself identify with both of them. [as heard] I think we are in the middle of the road between the NP and the PFP in the sense that we are accommodating some aspects on the NP, but we are also accommodating the presence of the PFP as well.

[Rogers] Right. Mr Sullivan could you come in at this point?

[Sullivan] Mr Hendrickse, could I ask you whether apartheid is still government policy.

[Hendrickse] Well, I think that there is a positive attempt to move away from it. I would certainly not endorse a policy that is based on the question of apartheid. I think....

[Sullivan, interrupting] But you are in the cabinet and you are not quite answering the question if you say there is an attempt to move away from it.

[Hendrickse] Well the point is, you see, the two principles already to be recognized is the fact that for the first time people other than whites are participating in the decisionmaking processes. [sentence as heard]

[Sullivan] Is apartheid government policy, Mr Hendrickse, or isn't it?

[Hendrickse] Well, it is government policy in terms of the NP but certainly not endorsed by the LP of South or myself.

[Doman] Mr Hendrickse, in last night's Network program, a NP member of parliament said that the government was actually a coalition between the NPP [National People's Party], yourselves, and the NP. Now surely if on the one hand you say you are opposed to government policy, but on the other hand you are a coalition, how do you actually...

[Hendrickse interrupting] Well, that was a statement by a person. Certainly we do not see ourselves as a coalition government. A coalition government has far more power that is being shared in the decisionmaking than at the moment we have. I am there in my capacity as chairman of the House of Representatives, and that certainly not a coalition, and I do not see myself as being part of a coalition government at this stage.

[Sullivan] Mr Hendrickse, can I say that I have usually found your logic pretty good and pretty compelling, but at the moment you have said that you stand for the unconditional release of Mr Mandela and of political detainees. At the same time, which I think most people in the country would support you on, at the same time you have said that most people in the country welcome the state of emergency. Now, you cannot really have one without the other, can you?

[Hendrickse] No, I think it is important to judge a situation on the reality of where you are. If there are attempts outside, and I don't think one must associate Nelson Mandela or his position with the state of emergency, if there is an attempt to upset all forms of normal behavior in terms of schools, then one has to think in terms of responding to the need and the protection of communities that are involved. But I think it is unfair to associate the whole question of the state of emergency and the release of Nelson Mandela.

[Sullivan] And the release of political detainees, of which there are a thousand or so at the moment, do you stand for that?

[Hendrickse] I certainly do. I believe that the sooner that they can be released, either released—we've said this over the years, it is either release or bring them to court,—but the sooner they can be released or brought to court I think it is going to be an investment for the return to normality within the situation.

[Sullivan] So you believe we should have the state of emergency but in that state of emergency we should not detain people, is that right?

[Hendrickse] Well, what I said very clearly is that it is important that there must be an attempt from the part of the security forces and the police to be, you know, be more careful and more lenient and really understand people's situations rather than just reacting violently.

[Doman] Mr Hendrickse, at the time that the state of emergency was actually instituted, you said something along the lines of it was the right decision at the right time. It is sometime later now with hindsight, how do you feel about that?

[Hendrickse] No, I still believe it was the right thing at the right time. You see, if one takes into consideration that there were elements that were exploiting the young people and the emotionalism of the young people in terms of creating the situation of unrest and as they also said making South Africa ungovernable, then certainly I believe now again that there has been a contribution to the restoration of stability and certainly a creation of a more restful atmosphere.

[Sullivan] When you talk about being more careful and more sensitive, has your reaction and your minister Carter Ebrahim's reaction to the colored school boycott or stayaway not been far more severe than the government's? You supported not moving away in October....

[Hendrickse interrupting] Not at all, not at all. I think if there ever has been a decision made with regard to the education then we, I believe, have also made a correct decision because I think the fact that we have had so many kids, more than 80 percent, participating in examinations, the fact that we have looked at the extension of the period in which they can apply to write, the lifting of restrictions with regard to commissioners of oaths or principals and (?things) show that we are looking for the whole question of solution and providing an opportunity for these youngsters to get further than what they are.

[Sullivan] Could I ask you a slightly lighter question. When is the next election?

[Hendrickse] Oh I don't know whether there will be an election, the next election, which was supposed to be round about 1988/89. I think that so much can happen in the sense of looking for alternatives and that is the point of

departure, and as far as I am concerned, the priority in terms of our participation in the parliamentary structure this year is to look for solutions in terms of urgency rather than looking for the next election.

[Rogers] Sorry, if I could come in here, could you spell out for us please the priorities of the LP as you see them for 1986.

[Hendrickse] Fine. I have already said, and I want to repeat again, that we are going to use the House of Representatives this year to appoint a committee of investigation in terms of an alternate to the present system of representation based, of course, on the old fact of one-man, one-vote in a nonracial geographic structure. We are also going to ask the state president to appoint a commission of experts other than a department within the Nationalist Party to look at the whole question of alternative modes of government for South Africa that can accommodate all people. We are also going to ask for the appointment of a parliamentary select committee that must immediately start examining all acts of discrimination and come with recommendations with regard to their removal. Also, within that whole atmosphere, we are looking at, I think immediately, the question of the removal of separate amenities. We are going to call for the repeal of the Group Areas Act, and certainly in the long term, a re-examination of the Population Registration Act.

[Rogers] Could I just go back there a moment and clarify in my own mind: Did you say that it was your priority to move towards a system of one-man, one-vote within a national system?

[Hendrickse] No. One-man, one-vote in a nonracial geographical federal structure. In other words, that every person in a defined geographic state will have the right to exercise the vote in that particular geographic state.

[Rogers] This would be a kind of federal system to get away from a system of majority government--in essence, black government?

[Hendrickse] Well, you see, it all depends what you mean by majority government. Majority government is going to be the fact that you have a federal structure with upwards representation, as you have in the United...[sentence as heard]

[Rogers] Well, let us spell it out like we all understand it. Are we talking about, you know, we are talking about black government, black majority government rule, and are you saying that you accept that, or that you do not accept that?

[Hendrickse] No. I am saying very loud and clear that I accept majority rule. The whole question of my proposal in terms of nonracial--and let us spell it out loudly and in capital letters, nonracial--means that there is no consideration as to who is black and who is white, that it is based on the whole question of the recognition of the right of the individual as a person. And I think that is your solution for South Africa.

[Sullivan] Can I take it from there. You say, Mr Hendrickse, that some people have ruthlessly exploited the black education crisis. Would you not do the same if you did not have the vote?

[Hendrickse] No, I think it is the point of getting to where you want to be as soon as you can. But if you look at your future of South Africa, and the participation of all people within South African context, then, if the doors of opportunity are opened, if the question of a new society becomes a reality, then certainly all people must be ready to take their rightful places. And they will not be in a position to take their rightful place if they are going to continue with regard to absence and boycotts.

Could we hear from Mr Doman?

[Doman] Mr Hendrickse, just changing the point a bit there. You stated some time back that if there were not tangible fruits of reform you might have to rethink on your situation in the present tricameral parliament. Could you please expand a bit, and tell us what these fruits of reform are that you are actually talking about?

[Hendrickse] Well, you know, you must bear in mind that I very clearly and loudly said at Eshowe when we made that decision to participate that our basis of participation is the whole question of the dismantling of apartheid. We do not have to define what apartheid is. And our normal period of election is a period of 5 years and, accepting that if we were to resign or walk out of parliament at this stage, that you are creating not a vacuum, but you are creating a situation where other people who do not have the same ideal and sense of participation as we have could fill the gap. And so we think of the normal electorate period as 5 years, so I would say that we have 4 more years in terms of the question of the dismantling of apartheid. If, by then, we have no clear indication, if we have no real change, then of course we consider our question of participation.

[Rogers] Mr Hendrickse, sorry. A final question here. Many people see your party as having lost colored support, particularly in the Cape Flats. If I could ask you for your reaction to that comment, and also if we could look at the situation where we are seeing the removal of the Political Interference Act which might see, for instance, the PFP [Progressive Federal Party] in the field soliciting colored votes as well. How do you see your party doing against the competition?

[Hendrickse] No, I have no fear about the latter statement. I think people are looking at fair representation in terms of who can best represent them, rather than just a choice between LP and PFP. Can I also say that....

[Rogers interrupting] Do you see the UDF [United Democratic Front] as being a more serious competition?

[Hendrickse] Oh, certainly, they are. I see this competition. But in terms of producing results, and in terms of the more adult group seeing that there are fruits of participation, reflected in the fact that we have just had a conference in the heart of Cape Town of 3,500 people, and the fact that we have

had a 20 percent increase over the last year in membership, and that in the Cape Peninsula, the area of unrest, we have had 10 and more new branches established.

[Rogers] Well, I guess the polls will tell the story, Mr Hendrickse. Thank you very much, Mr Sullivan, Mr Doman, and to all of you, until next time, good night.

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CSO: 3400/852

SOUTH AFRICA

INDIAN PARTIES FORM COALITION AGAINST APARTHEID

MB101828 Umtata Capital Radio in English 1800 GMT 10 Jan 86

[Text] The leader of the House of Representatives has announced a coalition between the two parties in the Indian house. Carmel Rickard has the details.

[Rickard] The announcement of the coalition was made by Amichand Rajbansi in Durban. He said that at talks already held between representatives of the two parties it had been decided to draw up a unity document, which the leaders of the two parties would sign. In terms of the agreement reached so far, issues to be dealt with in parliament would be planned by a joint committee of (?10) members, including both leaders. He said that coalitions were formed during wartime, and the two parties felt they were at war against apartheid. He said issues such as reshuffling key positions in the house still had to be decided. He also denied that there had been what he termed non-Indian initiatives or pressure for the coalition.

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CSO: 3400/852

SOUTH AFRICA

COMMENTARY VIEWS REFORMS TO COME ABOUT THIS YEAR

MB130902 Johannesburg International Service in English 0630 GMT 13 Jan 86

[Station Commentary]

[Text] Nineteen Eighty Six promises to be a year of reform, particularly for South Africa's blacks. This emerges clearly from an interview last week with the minister of constitutional development and planning, Mr Chris Heunis. He referred to the announcement made last year by the state president, Mr P.W. Botha, and noted the following: That South Africa would remain in unitary state; that everyone in the country, white, black and colored, will have the right to South African citizenship; that South Africa's urban black communities, those living and working outside the independent or self-governing national states, will participate in joint decision-making up to the highest level of government; that blacks will have property rights; and that all South Africans will have the same identity documents and that the passbook for blacks will be abolished.

Mr Heunis pointed out that these announcements were all the result of negotiation between the government and representatives of the various black communities. This year they will be ratified by the South African parliament. From this it is clear that reform and constitutional development do not come in the form of a magic wand that changes everything overnight. By its very nature, reform is an ongoing and time-consuming process in which there are periods of consolidation before further steps are taken.

There are various options in resolving South Africa's complex situation, and the government has made it clear that it is not going to prescribe a solution. Instead, the resolving of the country's problems and mapping out its further constitutional development must be the product of negotiation between all moderate political leaders. Radical elements working for revolutionary change will be resisted with all the power at the state's command. What is at stake is the continued existence of a highly successful young country with enormous assets and even greater potential. The alternative is continued conflict promoted by radicals at the behest of the Soviet Union, which recognizes South Africa as indispensable to its ultimate aid of world domination. Apartheid is merely the excuse for the Soviet Union to become involved.

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CSO: 3400/852

SOUTH AFRICA

RACIAL RESTRICTIONS LIFTED AT UNIVERSITY OF NATAL

MB071210 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1155 GMT 7 Jan 86

[Text] Durban, 7 Jan (SAPA)--Racial restrictions have been lifted at the University of Natal--and other previously white South African universities.

In what Natal University principal, Prof Pieter Booysen, described today as an extremely important development, the Department of Education and Culture has told all "white" universities that students of other races no longer need ministerial permission to register for certain courses.

Professor Booysen said that before 1983, students of other races had to get ministerial permission to register for any subject. But with the Universities Amendment Act of 1983, a controversial racial quota system had been introduced.

Although this eliminated the need for individual students to apply for ministerial consent in all but certain subjects, it had empowered the government to clamp down on any university it felt was admitting to many students of other races.

Recommended racial quotas had been formulated, but the government had not actually exercised its authority to enforce them, Prof Booysen said. They had been used simply as a threat.

For the past three years, black, coloured or Indian students of medicine, dentistry, veterinary science, paramedicinal studies, nursing, pharmacy, optomology, agriculture and surveying had to get ministerial permission to enroll at "white" universities.

This had now been dropped, making university enrollment almost entirely non-racial.

Professor Booysen said the only faculty at the University of Natal that remained racially restricted was the medical school, which was not for whites.

"However, we will continue to seek permission to open it to all races," he said.

"Our main source of regret now is the continued existence of the quota bill.

"We will not be able to rest easily until the Universities Amendment Act has been scrapped."

He said the subjects that affected the University of Natal were nursing, pharmacy, agriculture and surveying.

In 1985, 21 per cent of the students on the university's Durban campus were black, coloured or Indian. On the Pietermaritzburg campus, the figure was 16 per cent.

Including the medical school, the university's total black, coloured and Indian enrollment for 1985 was 25 percent. And at the University of Cape Town, authorities have welcomed the news that black students no longer need ministerial consent to study [word indistinct] faculty of medicine and department of surveying.

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CSO: 3400/852

SOUTH AFRICA

DURBAN SCHOOL ATTENDANCE BELOW NORMAL; OTHERS RETURN

MB081247 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1233 GMT 8 Jan 86

[Text] Pietermaritzburg, 8 Jan (SAPA)--There was a below-normal attendance at Durban schools administered by the Department of Education and Training [DET] when they opened today but elsewhere in Natal pupils were returning peacefully to their classes, said a DET spokesman today.

No official reports of incidents have been received and no police presence at schools was reported.

The spokesman said there was a little difficulty at Lamontville High School and Chesterville Senior Secondary School where attendance was just below 50, while at A.J. Mwelase Secondary School the figure was slightly more than 50.

This was an improvement from last year when these schools were hit by boycotts, he said.

The spokesman said attendance was normal at schools in the Piet Retief, Ermelo, Vryheid, Glencoe and Pietermaritzburg West and South Sub-regions, but he was unable to supply attendance figures.

We are very satisfied with the situation in Natal apart from Durban, he said.

The spokesman said he was sure attendance figures would pick up tomorrow in view of the DET's promise of flexibility regarding late registrations.

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CSO: 3400/852

SOUTH AFRICA

THREE CAPE TEACHERS RELEASED, RESTRICTED

MB082112 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2039 GMT 8 Jan 86

[Text] Cape Town, 8 Jan (SAPA)--Three Mitchells Plain teachers and two high school pupils were released from detention today and immediately served with restriction orders which ban them from teaching or attending school.

Mr Gordon Edwards, 31, Mr Yusuf Mohamed, 24, and Mr Shahied Hartley, all teachers at the Westridge Senior Secondary School in Mitchells Plain were in detention for 60 days.

Mr Mark Lackay, 19, a high school pupil from Steenberg, and Christopher Hendricks, 15, a standard seven pupil at Lavender Hill Senior Secondary, and two other Steenberg pupils, whose names could only be established as being Rodney and Whitey, were also released.

Rodney and Whitey, both 15 and pupils at Steenberg Senior Secondary and, as far as could be ascertained, were not served with restriction orders.

Both were immediately re-arrested and ordered to appear in court tomorrow to face charges of alleged public violence.

The three teachers, Mr Lackay and Christopher Hendricks, were all served with restriction orders effective until the lifting of the state of emergency.

The orders ban them from among other things, assisting in the production of any publication, attending public gatherings, and from being present at any educational institution without police permission.

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CSO: 3400/852

SOUTH AFRICA

ASSEMBLY MINISTER COMMENTS ON UNIVERSITY ADMISSIONS

MB090637 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 9 Jan 86

[Text] The minister of education and culture in the House of Assembly, Mr Piet Clase, says recent reporting of the admission of students of other population groups to white universities has caused the mistaken impression that the government has fundamentally changed its policy in this regard.

Mr Clase said in a statement issued in Pretoria that white universities had been informed that individual permits were no longer required by students in order to study in certain fields. Applications by blacks to pursue their studies in fields for which expensive facilities had been established at black universities and considerable investment had been made would, as was the case with all students of other population groups, be dealt with by white universities under agreement between the minister concerned and the university.

Mr Clase said the constitution specifically stated that universities fell under the own affairs of each population group. While applications by members of other population groups could be accommodated and while this would generally continue, they could achieve such proportions as to alienate institutions from their own communities.

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CSO: 3400/852

SOUTH AFRICA

FREE MEDICAL CARE ABOLISHED IN CAPE

MB101458 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1433 GMT 10 Jan 86

[Embargoed until 2100 GMT 10 January]

[Text] Cape Town, 10 Jan (SAPA)--Free medical treatment in the Cape Province is to be abolished, and out-patient tariffs for lower income groups reduced under a new hospital fees structure announced by the administrator of the Cape Mr Gene Louw today, and which is to come into operation on 1 April this year.

Mr Louw said in a statement that the new structure incorporated a sliding scale based on the liability of a family unit to pay income tax, and "makes provision for all to pay on an equitable basis for health services rendered to them in a provincial institution."

He said it would bring "considerable and very welcome relief to patients in the lower-income groups."

"Although services will no longer be rendered free of charge, it must be emphasised that health services will not be withheld from anyone, and no one will have to suffer unnecessary financial hardship in order to be able to meet his financial commitments in respect of health services."

There would be "basically three categories" of medical tariffs.

State patients--those who were not able to pay income tax such as indigents and social pensioners--would pay between 50c and R1 per hospital day or per out patient visit.

Semi-state patients, those who were liable to pay income tax and were able to make a significant payment for health services but could not afford private sector health care, would be charged from R6 to R30 as in-patients at institutions giving specialist services and from R3 to R15 at those giving general practitioner services.

As out-patients they would pay R6 to R14 and R3 to R7 at the two classes of institution.

The third category was that of private patients, those liable for income tax and who "as a rule have to make use of private sector health services but require to be treated in provincial institutions for various reasons."

These people would pay from R36 to R54 in day tariffs at specialist institutions and from R18 to R27 at general ones, and would be charged on a sliding scale for the use of theatres, x-ray and laboratory examinations, medication and prostheses on which expenditure exceeded a certain amount.

As out-patients, they would all pay fixed tariffs of R18 and R19 for visits to specialist and general institutions respectively.

Mr Louw said these tariffs were linked to the medical aid scheme benefit scales, and would have to be adjusted as soon as the scales were amended either by notice in the government gazette, or by new income tax tables, even before April 1 if necessary.

Provision was also being made for inclusive maternity tariffs, payable in up to five installments.

Ambulance services would in future only be supplied if required for purely medical reasons, at a tariff of from 50¢ to R18 for a 50km journey.

He said the purpose of the revised structures was "mainly to adjust the means test and rationalize and place on a sound basis the hospital fees structure in the Cape Province."

"An increase in the revenue of the province was only a secondary consideration."

The "potential revenue" would only increase by about seven per cent, he said. There would be a considerable decrease in revenue from out-patient fees, as out-patient tariffs had been drastically reduced especially in the case of lower income groups.

At present, a single person with a gross income of R155 a month had to pay R8 for an out-patient visit to a training hospital, while he would only pay 50 cents according to the new structure.

The anticipated increase revenue from in-patient fees as well as the fact that affluent patients would henceforth pay for additional special services would more than compensate for the loss of revenue in out-patient fees.

A spokesman for the provincial administration said free hospital services were at present available to social pensioners and people with no income.

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CSO: 3400/852

SOUTH AFRICA

BRIEFS

BISHOPS' CONFERENCE PROTEST--Johannesburg, 10 Jan (SAPA)--The Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference [SACBC] has sent a telex to the minister of law and order, Mr Louis le Grange, protesting against the arrest of two Catholic nuns. "We fail to see how the detaining of Sr [Sister] Bernard Ncube and Sr Christine Obotseng, among others, can serve any useful purpose and strongly protest at the action taken against these two religious sisters," the message stated. We are deeply disturbed that at a time when the South African Government should be pursuing a sustained and vigorous policy of lessening tensions and endeavouring to create a situation conducive to dialogue rather than to conflict, the established pattern of arrests and detentions continues." The telex was sent to the minister this morning by the president of the SACBC, Archbishop Denis Hurley. [Text] [Johannesburg SAPA in English 1130 GMT 10 Jan 86] /8309

CSO: 3400/852

SOUTH AFRICA

RAND'S COLLAPSE BLAMED ON STATE OF EMERGENCY

London THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST in English 4th Quarter 85 pp 63-69

[Article by Phineas Malinga]

[Text]

When chairmen of companies address the annual meetings of their shareholders, they usually try to look on the bright side. Stories of achievements and progress are what the shareholders want to hear. It can be safely assumed, therefore, that if a company chairman's address says that things are bad, they are very bad.

When Mr Gavin Relly, chairman of Anglo American Corporation, addressed his 1985 Annual General Meeting in July, he said this:

"No one should be in any doubt that the next few years will be painful for all of us, if a secure foundation for future prosperity is to be laid. The escalation of political unrest since late last year and the changes that have taken place in the international economic environment have been so far-reaching as to require fundamental adjustments in the way we handle and shape the South African economy. World markets do not offer the same opportunities for our traditional exports and for rising commodity and gold prices, as they did in the sixties and seventies. The rate of inflation in South Africa, and therefore its competitive position, is dangerously out of line with that of our main trading partners. The relationship between consumption and investment, and the willingness to save, deteriorated last year as never before. The net reserves are severely depleted and the external value of the rand is historically low. As if this were not trouble enough, we also have to take serious note of the disinvestment campaign being waged by those who sincerely think that it will improve our society and by those who are indifferent to its destruction."

Several aspects of this statement are worth analysis, but it has three striking features. Firstly, it leaves no doubt about the seriousness of the economic crisis. Secondly, it admits the connection between the economic and political crises of South African capitalism. Thirdly, it comes from a source which for the past thirty years has been trying to propagandise a very different connection between economics and politics. The doctrine of the Anglo-American bosses has been that South Africa's political problems would solve themselves eventually, thanks to the benign influence of increasing economic welfare. Mr Relly's statement amounts to an admission that that doctrine is dead. Far from being able to hope that prosperity will damp down the fires of revolution, the South African bourgeoisie now has to face the fact that increasing poverty and deprivation are pouring fuel on to those fires.

World Capitalist Crisis

Mr Relly correctly diagnoses the main cause of the present economic debacle. South Africa has been caught up in the crisis of world capitalism. Since the late seventies, the entire capitalist world has been going through the worst depression since the thirties. For South Africa, this has produced, in certain respects, a re-run of the thirties. Commodity markets have crashed throughout the world and South Africa's mining and agricultural exports have suffered accordingly. The resulting shock waves have hit industries which in many cases had been built up on shaky foundations during the boom years.

The motor industry is a classic example. Manufacturers from all over the capitalist world scrambled for shares of the South African market during the quarter century to 1975. The Government compelled them to set up local assembly plants instead of importing complete vehicles, as had been the pre-war practice. The result appeared to be a flourishing local industry. It was, however, not rationally planned. The number of competing manufacturers was larger than the size of the market could justify. When the down-turn came, the motor industry emerged as a disaster area. In the six-month period up to the end of June 1985 car sales declined by 60% compared with the equivalent period last year and commercial vehicle sales declined proportionately. Among the consequences was the merger of Ford's South African operation with Amcor (the Anglo-American subsidiary which handles several European models), with the loss of more than 2,000 jobs in Port Elizabeth.

Though this is one of the biggest job losses caused by a single event, it represents only a fraction of the total damage to the motor industry. In

January 1985, it was estimated that 20,000 jobs had already been lost in motor manufacturing and allied industries, and that another 11,000 were likely to go in the course of the year.² The contraction of the motor industry has been a major cause of unemployment in the Eastern Cape and there is an obvious connection with the high level of militancy displayed by the people of that region.

Collapse of the Rand

In another respect, also mentioned by Mr Relly, the present crisis displays a sharp contrast with that of the thirties. In the past, a depression under the capitalist system was characterised by a fall in prices across the board. This was true of the thirties depression in most capitalist countries, including South Africa. Subsequently, however, the eminent bourgeois economist, John Maynard Keynes, discussed what he hoped would be a cure for depression. Temporarily, his cure worked and it enabled capitalism to postpone the depression to a date some twenty years later than the history of economic cycles up till World War 2 indicated was likely.

The basic tool of Keynesianism is inflation. According to Keynes's theory, the capitalist government should bring about a carefully controlled increase in the money supply when it sees signs that the economy is slowing down. This stimulates demand and prevents depression. As soon as this desired effect has been achieved, the money supply is again reduced, keeping the system in equilibrium.

The actual practice of Keynesian governments has been rather different. They have continually debased their currencies, at first by small amounts and later at an accelerating pace. Applied to a country with a history of currency stability, this policy enables two confidence tricks to be brought off during a certain period of time. The first is a confidence trick against the workers, who can be given paper wage increases without any real increase in purchasing power. The illusion of prosperity causes them to spend freely, which stimulates demand, but there is no real transfer of resources away from the bourgeoisie. The second is a confidence trick by the sharper, more vigorous elements of the bourgeoisie against its sleepier and more stagnant elements. The sharp bourgeois borrows money from the sleepy bourgeois at the sort of interest rate (say four or five per cent) which was traditional in the days of currency stability. Meanwhile, the currency is losing value at, say, ten per cent per annum. Ten years later, the sharp bourgeois repays the sleepy bourgeois an amount which can only buy half as much as the amount originally lent. The interest paid on the loan does not compensate for the erosion of the capital. The sleepy bourgeois has been taken for a ride.

The effect on the economy is, at first, beneficial. Savings which would be idle in the hands of the sleepy bourgeois are put to active use by the sharp bourgeois. The bourgeoisie as a whole runs down its savings and uses part of them for current consumption. The level of economic activity is kept up.

The trouble is, however, that after a time, the victims of both confidence tricks find out what is going on. In countries with powerful trade union movements, indexation of wages becomes the rule. This accelerates the pace of inflation and deprives the capitalist of one of its benefits. Meanwhile, the sleepy bourgeois wakes up and starts demanding interest rates which adequately compensate him for inflation. Once this happens, the Keynesian game is over. Sky-high interest rates stifle enterprise and become the trigger which sets off the postponed depression.

This happened throughout the capitalist world from the late seventies onwards. Baffled bourgeois economists coined the term "stagflation" to describe the new phenomenon — depression and inflation combined. It is an extremely dangerous phenomenon for capitalism. The new-style depression has all the evil features of the old — mass unemployment, closure of whole industries, epidemic bankruptcy — together with the additional scourge of a collapsing currency. Only one major industrial country underwent this combination of misfortunes in the thirties. That country was Germany. The shattering effect upon the morale of the petty bourgeoisie and the malign influences to which they then became subject are too well known to require description.

Alarmed by these dangers, many capitalist governments have in recent years taken drastic measures to reduce inflation. In this they have had some success, although at considerable cost to their economies and their peoples. The South African government, however, has been denied even this facade of success. During the first half of 1985, the words "hyperinflation" and "collapse of the rand" were heard more and more frequently in economic discussion. In the course of 1984, the rand lost 40% of its value against the US dollar, which led to dramatic increases in the price of petrol and oil — a key factor in inflation. The first half of 1985 saw a decline in the dollar, so that the

relative decline of the rand was less spectacular. By mid-1985, however, the indicators were all negative. Inflation was running at just over 16% per annum. The value of the rand against an average of world currencies (most of which, be it remembered, are themselves losing value at various rates) was down to 62% of its 1983 level.

The remedy of high interest rates, which has been used with some effect in countries such as Britain and the USA, appears ineffective in South Africa. Interest rates have been around the 16% to 22% level for a considerable time, a fact which itself aggravates the difficulties of industry and agriculture. Yet inflation gets worse. This suggests that confidence in the currency has reached a low ebb. Those South Africans who still have liquid resources do not wish to keep them in rands at any price. No matter what interest rates are offered, it seems safer to get resources into foreign currencies or into real assets. One report on the South African economy in the wake of the declaration of a state of emergency stated:

"How increased strikes and workers' sabotage will look to outside investors anxious at the strength of the disinvestment campaign, is fairly obvious. Already it has been reported that South Africa is seeking a rescheduling of its debt — about 60 per cent of a total of 23,000m US dollars is due for repayment this year. And it is reliably learnt that a major UK bank with holdings in South Africa has approached the British Foreign Office to express concern at the unrest.

"'Funk money' — investors running scared — is leaving South Africa at an alarming rate; R2,800m in the quarter to March alone. According to one South African economist, 'the economy is so bombed out nobody wants to borrow'".

In July another report stated:

"The capital market is on the shelf. Trading is at a standstill and stocks are moving in tediously narrow ranges... The present trend is likely to carry on indefinitely... As a gilt dealer at the JSE (Johannesburg Stock Exchange) says: 'We're in a straitjacket at the moment'".

Once such a mood grips the bourgeoisie, the currency goes into a downward spiral which is almost impossible to stop. The most unscrupulous elements of the bourgeoisie emerge from the debacle with profit, but many of the middle strata find their savings wiped out. The chief sufferers, however, are those who depend entirely on a cash wage for their survival. From them, the fruits of years of toil and struggle can be snatched away overnight. The effective protection of the working class in a severe inflationary situation is a task within the capabilities of only the strongest trade union movements. In spite of all its achievements in recent years, the South African trade union movement is nowhere near that stage yet. For South African workers in the immediate future it is inevitable that those who escape the scourge of unemployment will suffer the lash of inflation. Unemployment will nevertheless remain, for the working class, the most immediate consequence of the depression. The precise number of unemployed is unknown. The regime keeps statistics only of what it is pleased to call "non-black" unemployment. This figure stood at 55,194 in April 1985 — an increase of 87.9% over the figure a year earlier! Much despondency and alarm have resulted among the white population, leading the *Sunday Star*, for example, to say that

"In platteland villages, industrial towns and cities a growing swarm of retrenched, hungry and homeless whites are taking their plight to churches and welfare agencies who have no help to given them."⁵

Yet the whole South African system is designed to ensure that the brunt of unemployment falls not on the whites but on the blacks. Of their plight, no overall picture is available, no totals are known. One can only try to put together disconnected pieces of evidence. One newspaper correspondent has estimated black unemployment as 25% of the population of the urban black townships.⁶ That may be right. Of course, any estimate confined to the population of the urban townships must understate the full scale of the problem, since one of the basic rules of the apartheid system is that unemployment is, as far as possible, exported from the urban areas to the reserves. Nobody knows the total number of Africans formerly employed in the urban areas who are now struggling to survive, jobless and landless, in the reserves.

Worse in South Africa

We see, then, that South Africa has not only been caught in the worldwide crisis of the capitalist economy, but is suffering more severely in that crisis than the majority of capitalist countries. Unemployment levels exceed those of Western Europe and North America. The currency is declining relative to other currencies. The manoeuvres by which such leaders as Reagan and Thatcher keep their heads above water do not work in the case of South Africa. The leaders of South African capitalism are forced to admit their need for "fundamental adjustments".

The reasons are no mystery. The economic disadvantages of the apartheid system have been pointed out over and over again, not least in recent years by the bourgeoisie themselves who had hoped to be its beneficiaries. Apartheid is now universally condemned as a rigid, artificial outdated system, imposed in the interests of the most reactionary and backward elements in the country. It is incapable of delivering the goods of the earth to the people.

These propositions are no longer a matter of debate. They are daily demonstrated by the notorious facts of South African life. They are known beyond doubt to the masses, who are not prepared to tolerate the system any longer. They are also known to the ruling class, whose confidence in their ability to sustain the system is ebbing away with every passing day.

The present agony of the South African people will appear in the fullness of time to be that darkest hour which comes before the dawn.

Notes

1. *Standard Bank Review*, July 1985.
2. *Johannesburg Star*, January 31, 1985.
3. *West Africa*, July 29.
4. *Financial Mail*, July 26, 1985.
5. *Sunday Star*, January 27, 1985.
6. *London Times*, July 23, 1985.

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21 February 86